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The purpose of this study was to explore some facets of the levels of educational aspirations of high school seniors in Trenton, Missouri as part of a larger study. The emphasis was on the following hypotheses: (1) The proportion of high school seniors aspiring to attend college increases as the socioeconomic status of their parents goes up, (2) High school seniors at lower socioeconomic levels will be more undecided as to their educational aspirations and expectations than those at higher socioeconomic levels, and (3) The difference between educational aspirations and expectations of high school seniors is greater in the lower socioeconomic levels. The subjects were 98 seniors of the 1955-56 school year and their parents. Four years later the seniors of the 1960 class were also included in the study. Only one item was used in stratifying the subjects -- occupation. Data were collected from school records, yearbooks, school papers, and questionnaires. Within the context of occupational stratification system, the study indicated a movement toward a more open society. Part I is available as VT 003 810. (CH)

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EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS.

PART II.

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Associate Professor of Sociology

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EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

PART II

James L. Lowe, *Ph. D.*

SENIORS' LEVELS OF ASPIRATION: EDUCATION

In our society the amount and kind of formal education one receives has an important bearing on the place in the social structure that one will "attain." The aspiration for education reflects the position in society to which one aspires. The "higher" occupations, such as the professions and managerial positions, are generally reserved for persons who have attended college. A few channels of mobility, such as sports and the entertainment world, permit the ascent of some persons who do not have higher education.

For the most part, however, those high school students who do not aspire to attend college have reduced their opportunities for high social mobility. Levels of aspiration have important consequences on social mobility. If children of parents at the upper levels aspire to and attend college while the children of parents at the lower levels do not aspire to and do not attend college, there will likely be little intergenerational social mobility. On the other hand, if children at all levels aspire to higher education and are able to avail themselves of advanced training, much social mobility will likely continue to occur.

One of the major purposes of this investigation was to explore some facets of the levels of educational aspirations of high school seniors in Trenton, Missouri. From the theoretical principles of social stratification, the following hypotheses or propositions were selected for testing:

4. The proportion of high school seniors aspiring to attend college increases as the socio-economic status of their parents goes up.
6. High school seniors at lower socio-economic levels will be more undecided as to their educational aspirations and expectations than those at higher socio-economic levels.

7. The difference between educational aspirations and expectations of high school seniors is greater in the lower socio-economic levels.

This section and the one following include data concerning the 1956 and 1960 seniors of Trenton High School. The 1956 seniors were interviewed; the 1960 seniors filled out the questionnaire.

A fundamental aspect of a person's behavior is the interest he has in an activity. People tend to do the things they like to do. One of the first questions asked the seniors was: "Do you like to go to school?" The results are given in Table 31. Attitudes toward school were related to socio-economic position, and the differences were statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. Particularly to be noted is that more than one-third of the students whose fathers were in the semi-skilled and laboring category preferred to do something other than attend school. Nearly two-thirds of the boys and about one-eighth of the girls in this category would just as soon not be in school. Only four students in this category liked school "very much."

TABLE 31

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS ACCORDING TO THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL

Occupation of father	Prefer something else	Like school fairly well	Like school very much	Other responses	Number
White collar	7	43	46	4	46
Girls	7	26	64	3	28
Boys	6	71	17	6	18
Skilled	4	54	37	4	48
Girls	4	55	41	0	27
Boys	5	52	33	10	21
Farmers	14	48	38	0	56
Girls	12	42	46	0	24
Boys	16	53	31	0	32
Semi-skilled	38	48	14	0	29
Girls	13	67	20	0	15
Boys	64	29	7	0	14

df - 6; X^2 - 17.402 and is significant at the 1 per cent level. In calculating chi square combined "Prefer something else" and "Other response."

With the students at the lower socio-economic level participating in fewer school activities and receiving fewer of the school rewards, it is not surprising that they felt little enthusiasm for attending school.

The seniors whose fathers were in white collar occupations had the highest percentage liking school "very much," followed by the seniors whose fathers were in skilled occupations and farming. Only a very small proportion of students at the semi-skilled level, 14 per cent, expressed great interest in attending school.

The proportions liking school fairly well ran around the 50 per cent mark at all socio-economic levels. There was a difference in responses between the sexes at all levels—girls liked school more than boys did in all occupational categories.

The seniors were asked what they *wanted* to do and what they *expected* to do right after leaving high school. Table 32 shows a very significant difference in the aspirations or wants at the different occupational levels. The value of chi square is significant beyond the 1 per cent level. There is very little likelihood that the differences

TABLE 32

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS ACCORDING TO PREFERRED ACTIVITY AFTER HIGH SCHOOL

Occupation of father	Go to college	Get job	Get married	Military service	Don't know	Number
White collar	83	7	2	4	4	46
Girls	82	7	4	0	7	28
Boys	83	6	0	11	0	18
Skilled	54	4	19	10	13	48
Girls	56	4	33	0	7	27
Boys	52	5	0	24	19	21
Farmers	50	30	2	2	16	56
Girls	50	25	4	0	21	24
Boys	50	34	0	3	12	32
Semi-skilled	24	59	3	11	3	29
Girls	33	53	7	0	7	15
Boys	14	64	0	22	0	14

df - 6; X^2 - 54.247 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level. In computing chi square combined the following categories, "Get married," "Military service," and "Don't know."

can be accounted for by chance. More than four-fifths of the young people from white collar homes aspired to attend college compared with over half the students whose fathers were skilled workers and one-half of the farm youth. At the semi-skilled level only about one-fourth of the students desired to attend college. Of the five girls at this level aspiring for higher education, one wanted to undertake nurse's training; one hoped to attend business college; and one aspired to enter a college for Salvation Army Officers.

All but eight young people at the white collar level wanted to go to college. Three wanted to enter vocations; one wished to get married; two desired to go into military service; and two were uncertain as to future plans.

The daughters of skilled workers desired to marry in larger proportions than did girls in other categories. One-third of the girls in this category preferred marriage compared with less than 10 per cent for the other categories. Boys from the skilled and semi-skilled homes wanted to go into military service more frequently than did boys in the white collar or farmer categories. The boys in the semi-skilled classification preferred to secure jobs and start their work careers in larger proportion than did the boys at other levels. One-third of the farm boys wanted to go to work, which included going into farming.

Relatively few seniors seemed to be undecided as to their desires after graduation from high school. Giving the "don't know" response were: white collar, 4 per cent; skilled, 13 per cent; farmers, 16 percent; and semi-skilled, 3 per cent.

Table 33 reports the seniors' expectations right after graduation from high school. The differences in seniors' expectations at different status levels are statistically significant beyond the 1 per cent level. The value of chi square was about the same as that in Table 32. Most seniors were fairly confident of fulfilling their educational aspirations. There was no reduction in the percentage expecting to attend college from those wanting to go in the white collar and skilled categories and only a small reduction in the percentage at the other socio-economic levels. The proportions in the "don't know" category were also rather low, with none being as high as one-fifth.

In comparing Tables 32 and 33 it is seen that there was little reduction at any level in percentage of those wanting to go to college as compared with those expecting to go to college. In the farmer category there was a reduction of 9 per cent and at the semi-skilled level 7 per cent. At all levels except for farmers there was a small increase in the percentage of students "not knowing" what they would do right after high school graduation, with the largest increase in the semi-skilled category (7 per cent). One boy at the white collar level did not want to go to college but expected that he would go.

TABLE 33

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS ACCORDING TO EXPECTED ACTIVITY AFTER HIGH SCHOOL

Occupation of father	Go to college	Get job	Get married	Military service	Don't know	Number
White collar	84	7	2	0	7	46
Girls	82	7	4	0	7	28
Boys	88	6	0	0	6	18
Skilled	54	8	13	10	15	48
Girls	59	11	22	0	8	27
Boys	47	5	0	24	24	21
Farmers	41	37	4	2	16	56
Girls	38	41	8	0	13	24
Boys	44	34	0	3	19	32
Semi-skilled	17	59	14	0	10	29
Girls	20	53	7	0	20	15
Boys	14	64	22	0	0	14

df - 6; X^2 - 54.250 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level. In computing chi square combined the following categories, "Get married," "Military service," and "Don't know."

A comparison was made of Tables 32 and 33 by calculating chi square. Aspirations were used as the observed frequencies and expectations at the theoretical frequencies. The value of chi square (2.49) was not significant at the 5 per cent level. It was significant at the 90 per cent level; the differences would occur by chance variation ninety times out of a hundred. In other words, there was very little difference between the students' aspirations and expectations.

A number of queries was made in an effort to gain more insight into the aspirations of the high school seniors. How much consideration had they given to the idea of attending college and how strong was the desire to attend? One question asked was, "How much have you thought about going to college?" Although this question might be open to different interpretations, it probably revealed the general attitude of the student toward college.

Table 34 indicates that there was an association between occupational classification and students' thoughts about going to college, and the differences could not easily be accounted for by chance since the computed value of chi square was significant beyond the 1 per cent level. As the socio-economic status declined there was an increase in the percentage of those giving the responses "not at all" or "very little." Only three persons in the white collar classification stated that they had not given any (or very little) consideration to attending college. As socio-economic status went up there was an increase in the proportion of seniors giving the response "some" or "very much." Over four-fifths of the white collar children stated that they had given some or very much consideration to attending col-

TABLE 34

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS ACCORDING TO HOW MUCH THEY THOUGHT ABOUT GOING TO COLLEGE

Occupation of father	Not at all or very little	Some or very much	Other	Number
White collar	7	87	7	46
Girls	4	89	7	28
Boys	11	83	6	18
Skilled	21	77	2	48
Girls	18	78	4	27
Boys	24	76	0	21
Farmers	29	71	0	56
Girls	25	75	0	24
Boys	31	69	0	32
Semi-skilled	59	38	3	29
Girls	53	40	7	15
Boys	64	36	0	14

df - 3; X^2 - 26.60 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level. In computing chi square, omitted the category, "Other."

lege; only a little over one-third of the students in the semi-skilled category gave this reply. It seems to be apparent that most seniors above the semi-skilled level gave considerable thought to attending college, while most seniors at the semi-skilled level gave little consideration to such matters.

Although the seniors were asked what they wanted to do after finishing high school, a hypothetical question was posed to test further the aspiration for college. The adolescents were offered the alternatives of attending college with all their expenses paid or of taking a job at fifty dollars a week. The responses are given in Table 35; the differences by status level are not significant at the 5 per cent level. Chance variation would account for the differences thirty times out of a hundred.

Most seniors stated that they would go to college if all their expenses were paid. The children at the white collar level had the

TABLE 35

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "IF YOU HAD THE CHOICE OF TAKING A JOB AT 50 DOLLARS A WEEK RIGHT AFTER HIGH SCHOOL OR GOING TO COLLEGE WITH ALL YOUR EXPENSES PAID WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD DO?"

Occupation of father	Take job	Go to college	Don't know	Number
White collar	7	89	4	46
Girls	11	82	7	28
Boys	0	100	0	18
Skilled	12	76	12	48
Girls	15	63	22	27
Boys	10	90	0	21
Farmers	20	68	12	56
Girls	29	67	4	24
Boys	12	69	19	32
Semi-skilled	17	66	17	29
Girls	7	73	20	15
Boys	29	57	14	14

df - 6; X^2 - 8.407 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

highest proportion of responses indicating that they would attend college, followed by the children of skilled workers, farmers, and semi-skilled.

It is probable that the children of white collar workers were more "set" in their views toward attending college. Their aspirations toward higher education had been strongly developed. The same percentage responded that they wanted and expected to go to college as stated they would go if all expenses were paid (compare Tables 32, 33, and 35). At all levels other than white collar there was a large increase in the proportion who would continue their schooling if all their expenses were paid.

At the white collar and skilled levels boys indicated a greater willingness to attend college than did girls; in fact, at the white collar level all the boys stated that they would attend college if all their expenses were paid. At the farmer level about the same proportions of boys and girls would attend college, while on the semi-skilled level a higher percentage of girls than boys signified college attendance under these conditions.

These statistics indicate that Trenton seniors at all occupational levels would attend college in large numbers if everything were paid. The children of the semi-skilled, even though not strongly inclined toward school, would at least start to college if they had no financial problems. Apparently they shared to some extent in the general American belief that attendance at college is desirable.

To test further the strength of the seniors' educational aspirations another hypothetical alternative was presented to them. They were given the choice of attending college but with the necessity of earning about half of their expenses, or of taking a job at fifty dollars a week. Some effort on the part of the student would thus be required in order to go to college. Presumably, this question would impose a greater test of the seniors' aspiration to attend college. Table 36 presents the responses to this alternative; the differences are statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. The high value of chi square indicated that there was little likelihood that differences by socio-economic classification could be accounted for by chance.

The pattern of increasing desire to go to college in association with higher occupational level thus continued to appear. However, a sizable decrease in the proportions electing to go to college under these restrictions occurred at all levels. The smallest reduction was at the white collar level, 13 per cent, and the greatest change was in the semi-skilled category, 32 per cent. The adolescents in the white collar classification seemed to be fairly stable in their educational aspirations. They were strong in their aspiration to attend college under all specified conditions. The seniors at the semi-skilled level were more subject to change, and they exhibited less strength in their desire to go to college.

The farm youth seemed to be about as stable as the young people at the white collar level in their educational aspirations. The reduction in their aspirations when confronted with the necessity of earning half their expenses while in college was only 16 per cent. Actually, the decrease in those who would attend college under these conditions came largely from the girls.

TABLE 36

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "IF YOU HAD THE CHOICE OF TAKING A JOB AT 50 DOLLARS A WEEK RIGHT AFTER HIGH SCHOOL OR OF GOING TO COLLEGE BUT HAD TO EARN ABOUT HALF OF YOUR EXPENSES WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD DO?"

Occupation of father	Take job	Go to college	Don't know and Other	Number
White collar	13	76	11	46
Girls	18	68	15	28
Boys	6	88	6	18
Skilled	25	58	17	48
Girls	30	48	22	27
Boys	19	71	10	21
Farmers	39	52	9	56
Girls	54	42	4	24
Boys	28	59	13	32
Semi-skilled	52	34	14	29
Girls	47	33	20	15
Boys	57	36	7	14

df - 6; X^2 - 17.885 and is significant at the 1 per cent level.

The seniors at the skilled level had a moderate change, 18 per cent, indicating that some adolescents at this level did not have a strong educational aspiration. There was slightly greater change by the girls than by the boys.

The seniors at the semi-skilled level apparently were willing to give college a "try" if everything were paid. However, when faced with the prospect of earning part of their way, they preferred a job. Apparently their aspirations to attend college were not very strong. Many of them would prefer work to school anyway so accordingly the percentage who would attend decreased when efforts would have to be expended in an attempt to attain college. However, a sizeable number of these young people stated that they were still willing to try college even if they had to earn about half of their way.

When analyzing the changes by sex, it is seen that there was a greater reduction at every level except the skilled among the girls than among the boys in those who would attend college. One-fourth of the farm girls and over one-third of the girls in the semi-skilled category changed their response when faced with the necessity of working in order to go to college.

Girls probably did not have as strong desire for college as did the boys. The boys' occupation might call for college education. The girls were more likely to think of marriage; there would be no impelling reasons for many girls to make a sacrifice to attend college when they had no strong vocational interest and a college degree had no particular importance in their future plans. The girls might have considered that it would be difficult for them to work part of their way through school, since girls usually do not have as much vocational experience as do boys.

TABLE 37

REDUCTION IN PER CENT OF SENIORS WHO WOULD ATTEND COLLEGE WHEN PRESENTED WITH THE ALTERNATIVE OF EARNING HALF OF THEIR EXPENSES

Occupation of father	Girls	Boys
White collar	14	12
Skilled	15	19
Farmer	25	10
Semi-skilled	40	21

The least change among the boys was at the farmer level, where only three farm boys changed when faced with the necessity of earning half their way through college. There was a reduction in the other categories ranging from 12 per cent to 21 per cent.

In attempting to measure further the students' aspirations, they were asked, "How strongly do you feel about going to college?" The responses are given in Table 38. Strength of attitude toward going to college was also associated with socio-economic position with little probability that the differences could be explained by chance variation. Calculation of chi square produced a value which was significant beyond the 1 per cent level. The proportion of seniors who replied "fairly strongly" or "very strongly" increased as the socio-economic status rose. Nine-tenths of the adolescents at the white collar level answered "fairly strongly" or "very strongly"; two-thirds of the skilled, one-half of the farm youth, and less than two-

TABLE 38

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW STRONGLY DO YOU FEEL ABOUT GOING TO COLLEGE?"

Occupation of father	Doesn't want to go Doesn't make much difference	Fairly strongly. Very strongly	Don't know Did not ask	Number
White collar	7	91	2	46
Girls	4	92	4	28
Boys	11	89	0	18
Skilled	25	69	6	48
Girls	30	59	11	27
Boys	19	81	0	21
Farmers	43	55	2	56
Girls	46	54	0	24
Boys	41	56	3	32
Semi-skilled	59	38	3	29
Girls	47	47	6	15
Boys	71	29	0	14

df - 3; X^2 - 27.71 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level. In computing chi square, omitted category, "Don't know, Did not ask."

fifths of the semi-skilled gave this response. On the other hand, only three seniors in the white collar category answered, "Don't want to go to college" or "Doesn't make much difference." One-fourth in the skilled, two-fifths at the farmer level, and over one-half of the semi-skilled did not want to go to college or did not much care whether they went.

This data tend to confirm the previous findings that the aspirations for further education varied with the socio-economic level. As the occupational level went up there were increased proportions of students who desired to go to college, and these opinions were held more strongly.

Some parents have the financial resources to pay the expenses of sons and daughters to institutions of higher learning. Many families are unable to pay all the costs involved in educating their children through college. The necessity to earn one's way through college might have some influence on a decision to attend college. The seniors were asked, "Would you have to work your way through college if you went?" The responses are given in Table 39. The differences by occupational class are statistically significant beyond the 1 per cent level. The necessity to earn one's way through college was related to socio-economic position.

Relatively few students other than in white collar and skilled categories stated that they could go to college without earning some money. About two-fifths of the seniors at the white collar level indicated that they would not have to be employed while attending college. Half the students of white collar fathers stated they would be obliged to work part of their way, while only about one-tenth in this group indicated that they would have to work their way almost entirely through college.

Nearly half the seniors in the skilled category reported that they would have to work their way partly through college. Almost one-fourth could attend without working. The farm youth reported in slightly higher proportions than the white collar and skilled that they would have to work their way partly or almost entirely through college.

TABLE 39

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS WHO WOULD HAVE TO EARN THEIR EXPENSES IN COLLEGE

Occupation of father	No	Partly	Entirely or almost entirely	Other	Number
White collar	41	50	9	0	46
Girls	46	43	11	0	28
Boys	33	65	6	0	18
Skilled	23	46	27	4	48
Girls	30	44	19	7	27
Boys	14	48	38	0	21
Farmers	11	57	32	0	56
Girls	13	62	25	0	24
Boys	9	53	38	0	32
Semi-skilled	14	35	51	0	29
Girls	27	27	46	0	15
Boys	0	43	57	0	14

df - 6; X^2 - 26.06 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level. In calculating chi square, combined the categories "Partly" and "Other."

Four individuals at the semi-skilled level stated that they would not have to work if they went to college. Where the money would come from was not indicated. Over one-third of the children of semi-skilled workers stated that they would have to earn only part of their expenses, and one-half indicated that they would have to earn their way almost entirely or entirely through college if they went.

At every status level, girls reported in larger proportions than did the boys that they would not have to work if they attended higher educational institutions. This situation probably reflected that fact that in our society parents tend to give greater support to the girls. Boys are more likely to be expected to earn a part of their expenses while in college.

What obstacles did the seniors face in contemplating college? What difficulties lay in the way of students in trying to determine their educational future? As has been indicated, one problem any student must consider in reaching a decision about entering college is concerned with finances. Cost of higher education today constitutes a large investment. Some aspects of the seniors' financial situation has been mentioned. At this point the students were asked to assess the degree of their ability to pay the expenses of college attendance. The query was made: "How difficult will it be for you to go to college, financially?" Some differences by levels of occupation are revealed in Table 40. The difference in financial difficulty of attending college was statistically significant at the 1 per cent level. On those giving the response "fairly easy" the largest "break" appeared between the white collar level and the skilled. The skilled, farmer, and semi-skilled classifications were grouped at 40 per cent, 46 per cent, and 45 per cent.

TABLE 40

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESION: "HOW DIFFICULT WILL IT BE FOR YOU TO GO TO COLLEGE, FINANCIALLY?"

Occupation of father	Fairly easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Didn't ask do not know	Number
White collar	72	26	0	2	46
Girls	64	36	0	0	28
Boys	83	11	0	6	18
Skilled	40	46	6	8	48
Girls	44	30	11	14	27
Boys	33	67	0	0	21
Farmers	46	39	14	0	56
Girls	46	33	21	0	24
Boys	47	44	9	0	32
Semi-skilled	45	41	3	10	29
Girls	47	27	7	20	15
Boys	43	57	0	0	14

df - 6; X^2 - 17.595 and is significant at the 1 per cent level. In calculating chi square, combined the categories "Difficult" and "Very difficult."

Nearly three-fourths of the adolescents with white collar parents thought that it would be "fairly easy" to attend college as far as the finances were concerned. This figure approximates the percentage who wanted to go to college, who expected to go to college, and who would go to college even if they had to work to obtain half their money for school. Thus, the children of white collar parents were fairly confident in their desire to attend college and their financial ability to go.

Almost half the seniors in the skilled, farmer, and semi-skilled categories thought that, as far as finances were concerned, it would be fairly easy to go to college. A number of families in the skilled and farmer categories were financially able to assist their sons and daughters through college. Forty-six per cent of the seniors at the skilled level and 57 per cent at the farmer level reported that if they went to college they must work their way "partly." These seniors knew their parents could give them some aid and believed that it would not be too difficult for them to get a job when in college.

At the semi-skilled level a much higher proportion of the students reported that they would have to work their way entirely through college. Although the resources of these families were not great, nearly half of them reported that they thought that it would be fairly easy for them to attend college as far as money was concerned. The explanation for this response apparently was that most of these young people were working and earning their own money. They felt that they could support themselves, since many of them were in fact buying their own clothes and other necessities. Perhaps they were unrealistically optimistic in the assessment of their financial ability to earn their way through college.

Table 41 contains additional data concerning the beliefs of the seniors on the possibility of a person working his way entirely through college and the degree of difficulty in doing so. Only six seniors believed that it was not possible for a person to work his way entirely through college. One was a farm boy, two were a boy and a girl at the semi-skilled level, and three were girls at the skilled level. There was a larger proportion of seniors at the semi-skilled level who did not know whether a person could work his way entirely through college. The seniors at this level probably were less likely to know anyone going to college and also less likely to know about opportunities for going to college.

The seniors' estimation of the expected difficulty of working one's way through college did not seem to follow any strong pattern. The proportion at each level responding "no" or "very difficult" was not greatly different. There was an increase in the proportion giving the response "difficult" as the socio-economic level went up. Not many seniors thought that it would be easy to earn one's way entirely through college. The smallest percentage was at the white collar level and the largest was by the children of semi-skilled workers. Perhaps the children of white collar workers were more realistic. Some young people at the semi-skilled level felt that they could earn their own way since some of them did buy their own clothes and other things.

TABLE 41

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW DIFFICULT DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE FOR A PERSON TO WORK HIS WAY ENTIRELY THROUGH COLLEGE TODAY?"

Occupation of father	Don't know didn't ask	Fairly easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Number
White collar	4	6	50	39	46
Girls	7	7	53	33	28
Boys	0	6	44	50	18
Skilled	6	12	50	31	48
Girls	0	15	41	44	27
Boys	14	10	62	14	21
Farmers	9	12	42	38	56
Girls	8	13	46	33	24
Boys	9	12	38	41	32
Semi-skilled	14	21	41	24	29
Girls	20	20	40	20	15
Boys	7	21	43	29	14

Another obstacle facing persons who attend college is the matter of obtaining passing grades. Table 42 indicates that about half the high school seniors did not contemplate having an easy time in college when studying was involved. However, the differences by social status in responses were not statistically significant at the 5 per cent level. Chance variation would explain the differences twenty times out of one hundred. In all categories the girls more than the boys thought that college work would be fairly easy for them. About half the students at the white collar, skilled, and farmer levels considered that college subjects would be fairly easy for them. The greatest difference in response between categories was at the semi-skilled classification where only five students with four of these being girls thought that college would be fairly easy for them.

Approximately half of the seniors at the skilled and farmer levels thought that college work would be difficult or very difficult. The seniors in the semi-skilled category had the highest proportion giving the response "difficult" and "very difficult." Over half the students in the semi-skilled classification considered that college work would be very difficult. Probably judging by their relatively low grades and lack of interest in school, these seniors decided that college work would be difficult for them. To these seniors the financial problem of attending college might not have seemed so great an obstacle as that of making grades and bearing the burdens of attending classes.

TABLE 42

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW DIFFICULT WILL IT BE FOR YOU TO GO TO COLLEGE WITH REGARD TO MAKING GRADES?"

Occupation of father	Fairly easy	Difficult	Very difficult	Didn't ask don't know	Number
White collar	46	35	11	8	46
Girls	53	30	7	11	28
Boys	33	44	17	6	18
Skilled	50	33	10	6	48
Girls	63	26	4	7	27
Boys	33	43	19	5	21
Farmers	45	45	7	3	56
Girls	50	38	4	8	24
Boys	41	50	9	0	32
Semi-skilled	17	59	21	3	29
Girls	27	40	27	7	15
Boys	7	79	14	0	14

df - 9; X^2 - 13.351 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

Most seniors apparently did not give serious consideration to college until they were in senior high school. Table 43 gives the responses to the question, "When did you decide you wanted to go to college?" The responses are not different significantly at the 5 per cent level. The percentages listed there are based on the number wanting to go to college. Only a few students stated that they had decided to go to college while in elementary school or a "long time ago." The largest proportion at each level decided to attend college when in senior high school. A number of the latter seniors said that they had thought about college in earlier years but had given serious consideration or had decided to go to college after being in high school.

Excluding the semi-skilled level, a greater proportion in the white collar category than at any other level stated that they had decided on college while in senior high school. Nearly two-thirds of the seniors at the white collar and skilled levels and about one-half of the farm youth reported that they had decided on college while in senior high school.

TABLE 43

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WHO DECIDED THAT THEY WANTED TO GO TO COLLEGE AT EACH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL—GRADE, JUNIOR HIGH, AND SENIOR HIGH

Occupation of father	Grade	Junior high	Senior high	Number wanting to go to college
White collar	23	13	64	39
Girls	26	9	65	23
Boys	19	19	62	16
Skilled	17	21	62	24
Girls	21	7	71	14
Boys	10	40	50	10
Farmers	30	22	48	27
Girls	25	0	75	12
Boys	33	40	27	15
Semi-skilled	20	0	80	5
Girls	0	0	100	4
Boys	100	0	0	1

df - 6; X^2 - 3.954 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

One might have expected that seniors at the white collar level would have decided on college earlier than students at other levels, but the data in Table 43 does not seem to so indicate. However, a number of white collar parents probably had been planning for their children to attend college. One merchant took out an insurance policy for his daughter's college education when she was just a baby. One girl had not thought much about going to college until her parents moved to Trenton; her parents had transferred to Trenton with a major purpose of having the daughter attend the local junior college. A boy, the son of a man in business, had not thought much about going to college until the summer preceding the senior year. He went on to say, "However, everyone goes to college. At least everyone in my family did." Most of these seniors apparently were not reared with the idea of going to college as a matter of course, but as they advanced through school gave increasing serious attention to higher education.

The question of an occupation was an important factor in the minds of the students wanting to go to college. About one-third of the seniors desiring to go to college at the white collar, skilled, and farm levels stated that the job or occupation was the reason for their deciding to further their education. A few students mentioned that they were influenced by members of their family to plan for additional training.

More students at the white collar level than in any other category grew up with the idea of going to college. The girl mentioned above said that she did not remember making a decision about college. Her parents had taken out an insurance policy when she was a baby; the policy was designed to pay her way to college.

Various other reasons for deciding to attend college, including some which were extraneous, were reported by the students; some gave several reasons. At the white collar level, one girl said that she "hated" to think of graduating and getting out of school. At the skilled level, one girl talked with the guidance counselor and another girl "wanted to be somebody and help other people in doing so." A number of girls in the skilled category did not want college because they were engaged or "going steady" and would prefer to marry.

At the farm level a girl who wanted to be a nurse said that she was influenced to attend the local junior college by her mother, guidance counselor, and some "kids." Some daughters of farmers not wanting to continue their schooling gave various reasons: "Do not think college education would do much good on the farm," "Do not like school," and "All the way through did not want to go to college." Several young women were primarily interested in marriage.

Some of the farm boys were undecided about further education. Nine sons of farmers did not want to go beyond high school; seven of them wanted to farm, and two were interested in skilled work, such as machinist and mechanic. One farm boy who aspired to be a minister decided to attend college because, "I felt that I had a great lack of knowledge and the vocation and seeing the people who did not have education struggling with life."

Almost all female seniors at the semi-skilled level did not want to go to college or were undecided and vague about their plans. One girl said that her brother and sister in California mentioned a business college which she might attend in that state. Two girls were somewhat undecided; one would like to attend business college but did not believe she would because of finances. The other would "kinda like to go to college" but had no plans for going. Most girls at this level did not desire higher education. Several of them were engaged or "going steady." One girl wanted to be an airline hostess and college "is not required." Very few of the boys at the semi-skilled level planned to attend college. They were going into occupations which would not require additional formal education. The desired occupations included armed services, railroad, mechanic, truck driver, and police work.

Were seniors influenced to attend college by particular individuals? A question was devised to elicit this information. Since some students had not made a definite decision with regard to higher education, the phrasing of the question was, in effect, "Who has encouraged you the most to want to attend college?" The responses are presented in Table 44; the differences are not statistically significant at the 5 per cent level. Chance variation would account for the differences about twenty times out of a hundred. Some seniors specified either their mother or their father was of more importance, while others reported, "parents," "folks," or "mother and father." According to the seniors at each socio-economic level, relatives were the major source of encouragement to go to college. One or both parents were most often mentioned as the major influence.

TABLE 44

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "IF YOU HAVE DECIDED TO GO TO COLLEGE WHAT *ONE* PERSON DO YOU THINK HAS INFLUENCED YOU THE MOST TO WANT TO GO TO COLLEGE?"

Occupation of father	Father	Mother	Both parents	Sister, Brother	Total close relatives	Teacher	Friend	Others	Don't know	Number
White collar	35	19	13	2	69	4	0	9	18	52
Girls	32	16	16	3	61	6	0	6	19	31
Boys	38	24	9	0	71	0	0	14	14	21
Skilled	10	22	6	8	46	6	10	10	28	50
Girls	4	23	8	8	43	4	8	11	34	27
Boys	17	22	4	9	52	9	9	9	22	23
Farmers	16	22	10	5	53	8	7	5	26	61
Girls	12	32	12	0	56	0	12	8	24	25
Boys	19	16	8	8	51	14	3	3	27	36
Semi-skilled	10	16	10	13	49	3	3	6	38	31
Girls	12	19	12	6	50	6	0	6	37	16
Boys	7	13	7	20	47	0	7	7	40	15

df - 6; X^2 - 9.163 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

In computing chi square used the following categories: "Close Relatives," "Others," "No one" or "Don't know."

The seniors in the white collar category had the highest proportion stating that both parents had inspired them most toward higher education, while the seniors at all other levels reported that the mother had the greater influence.

In comparing the influence of mother and father a larger proportion of the sons and daughters of white collar parents stated that the father was the one who had swayed them the most, whereas seniors at all other levels specified that the mother had the greater influence.

Relatives other than parents who were reported as influencing the seniors were comparatively few. The largest percentage specifying brother or sister was at the skilled level. Other relatives mentioned by a few students included cousin, aunt, and grandmother.

Persons other than relatives who were reported as encouraging the subjects to continue their education included friends, teachers, and others. One youth in the white collar category specified a teacher. Children of skilled workers mentioned guidance director, friend of sister, and a friend and the friend's mother. The farm youth listed friend, a woman in the church, and teachers, while at the semi-skilled level teacher was specified. One senior in the white collar category reported that he desired to attend college because of personal experience, while another wanted to go because he had read pamphlets and had observed people.

Aside from personal influence, what were the most important reasons for the seniors aspiring to attend college. Table 45 gives the youths' expressed reasons for desiring to continue on to college. The value of chi square was not significant at the 5 per cent level but was at the 10 per cent level. The differences by socio-economic status could be accounted for by chance variation about ten times out of a hundred. Economic considerations seemed to be emphasized more than anything else. College was a means to entering an occupation and to obtaining a better job. There was no clear pattern with regard to socio-economic position. The seniors in the white collar classification had the lowest proportion of responses indicating that job or occupation was the most important reason for planning college attendance, while the farm youth had the largest proportion giving this response.

Preparing for and obtaining employment was at all levels the principal reason given for going to college. In some cases a particular job was mentioned—"I want to go to college to be a nurse, accountant, or veterinarian." In other instances no specific work was mentioned, but the desire was to "get a better job" or a job that "pays well."

The son of a white collar worker did not emphasize the income that he might receive from a position; he wanted a "job that is challenging and interesting and to get that job I will have to have a college degree." A girl at this level mentioned the social life at college.

A girl at the skilled level was challenged by the idea of securing a college education and entering her chosen profession. She added, "No one thinks I can do it." She wanted an education so that she "would not feel like an idiot." Also, she liked to be around "smart people." One farm boy said that he wanted to attend college to enter a particular profession but that he "would go anyway."

TABLE 45

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS WHO INDICATED MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR WANTING TO GO TO COLLEGE

Occupation of father	Economic job or occupation	Further education	Other	Number of answers	Number answering
White collar	49	33	18	45	40
Girls	41	33	26	27	25
Boys	61	33	6	18	15
Skilled	67	7	26	28	27
Girls	57	7	36	14	14
Boys	79	7	14	14	13
Farmers	72	21	7	29	29
Girls	62	23	15	13	13
Boys	81	19	0	16	16
Semi-skilled	57	43	0	7	7
Girls	60	40	0	5	5
Boys	50	50	0	2	2

df - 6; X^2 - 12.323 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level but is at the 10 per cent level.

In addition to specific queries regarding college, a general question was asked, "What are the most important things for a young person to consider in deciding on whether to go to college?" In their replies which are contained in Table 46, some students gave more than one response. They gave several reasons for a person to consider in making up his mind about attending college so there are more responses than there are seniors. Some students who were not wanting or planning to attend college gave their opinions. Differences in responses of the seniors by status level were statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.

There was not a definite pattern in the proportions of responses as far as socio-economic level was concerned. The largest percentage of answers at each level except in the skilled category had to do with the intended occupation. Some students commented that whether a person had the ability or could make the grades would be an important factor. Nearly a fifth of the statements at the white collar and farmer levels were of this type, while there was a smaller per-

TABLE 46

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS' RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "WHAT ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT THINGS FOR A YOUNG PERSON TO CONSIDER IN DECIDING ON WHETHER TO GO TO COLLEGE?"

Occupation of father	Economic make money occupation	Ability grades	If desire to attend	Financial ability to attend	Other responses	Number of responses
White collar	30	17	6	27	19	69
Girls	25	16	9	32	18	44
Boys	40	20	0	20	20	25
Skilled	23	9	11	25	31	69
Girls	16	7	12	27	37	43
Boys	35	11	11	19	24	26
Farmers	48	18	1	16	18	67
Girls	40	19	3	22	16	32
Boys	54	14	0	11	20	35
Semi-skilled	47	6	9	12	25	32
Girls	47	12	17	12	12	17
Boys	47	0	0	13	40	15

df - 12; X^2 - 23.880 and is significant at the 5 per cent level.

centage in the skilled and semi-skilled categories giving this response.

The problem of possessing the necessary money was mentioned fairly frequently. One-fourth of the seniors at the white collar and skilled levels raised the question of the financial ability to attend college while the proportions of replies at other levels ranged downward to 12 per cent in the semi-skilled classification.

A few responses referred to the desire of the person to go to college or to his liking for school. The highest percentage with this answer was at the white collar level. Some other replies which were given included, "What college to attend"; "What subjects to take"; "Think about the army"; "Whether to go clear through or just waste money"; "What their parents wanted"; and "If wanted to get married."

A consistent set of attitudes tended to be held by students at the different socio-economic levels. As the status rose there was an increase in percentage of seniors liking school and planning to continue their education. The boys and girls at the white collar level were inclined to have favorable attitudes toward school. They aspired to enter higher institutions of learning in larger proportions than did children at lower levels, and their aspirations were more strongly held. More thought had been given to consideration of college, and plans for attendance were more definite by the youth at the upper level. Furthermore, these young people had fewer obstacles in their way toward a college education. Fewer of them would have to earn all their expenses. Encouragement by their parents to continue their formal schooling was also greater. The sons and daughters coming from white collar homes were reared by parents who, in general, had more education than parents at other levels. It was desired and expected that their children advance into college. With more stimulation in the home and fewer obstacles to overcome, the seniors of white collar fathers had higher educational aspirations.

The seniors in the semi-skilled classification had more unfavorable attitudes toward school. They had given less consideration to attending college and did not aspire to enter higher educational institutions in as large proportions as did those at higher levels. These young people faced a financial difficulty in furthering their education in that a large proportion of them would have to work their way through college if they went. A large percentage of the sons and daughters of semi-skilled workers verbally recognized the importance of higher education by indicating that they would enter college if all their expenses were paid. However, monetary considerations were not the only impediment in their path toward higher education. Reared by parents with less formal schooling, they had little stimulation and encouragement to attend college. A large percentage of them recognized that they might have difficulty in obtaining passing grades. Also, they did not have favorable attitudes toward school.

The percentage of responses of seniors in the farmer and skilled classifications concerning education ranged between those of the white collar and semi-skilled levels. In general, the attitudes of the offspring of farmers and skilled workers were more similar to each other than they were to those of either of the other occupational categories; they tended to be intermediary between the top and bottom levels.

Most of the students in the farmer and skilled groups were not reared with the idea of going to college although a large proportion received some encouragement at home to perform well and to continue their education. Some students in these two categories were outstanding in school activities and scholastic endeavors, and some of these were likely to aspire to attend college. The youth at the farm and skilled level did not dislike school as did so many of the boys of semi-skilled workers. At the middle levels the young people were willing to put forth some effort in order to obtain higher education, but, in general, they did not have strong aspirations to attend college.

Most seniors at the white collar level were reared with the intention of obtaining a college education; most of them aspired to enter higher educational institutions. Some youth (about half) in the farm and skilled classifications had aspirations to continue their schooling, while relatively few children of semi-skilled workers aspired to attend college.

SENIORS' LEVELS OF ASPIRATION: OCCUPATION

Is there a relationship between the social status of parents and the occupational aspirations of their children? According to chance, seniors at different status levels would aspire to and enter similar occupations in similar proportions. Young people at different socioeconomic levels, however, apparently aspire differentially to occupations. What accounts for the differences in aspirations? What persons and what factors bear upon the students in their selection of vocations?

What thought, planning and consideration do adolescents give to choice of occupation? Are they aware of the momentous consequences that choice of occupation will have on their positions in society? To what extent do boys and girls aspire to positions above that of their fathers? Is there uniform desire and motivation for social mobility throughout all levels of society?

The seniors in this study were asked about their aspiritions for occupation in an effort to find answers to some of the above questions. In this section data will be presented concerning the following propositions:

Proposition 5. The proportion of students aspiring to higher occupations increases as the socio-economic status goes up.

Proposition 6. Students in lower socio-economic groups will be more undecided as to their occupational aspirations than those in higher socio-economic groups.

Proposition 7. The difference between aspirations and expectations is greater in the lower socio-economic levels.

How much consideration do young people give to their contemplated occupation? In an effort to secure information concerning this question, the seniors were asked, "Have you thought about the occupation you plan to enter?" The responses are given in Table 47. There was a slight tendency for boys to think more about occupation than was true of girls at the skilled and semi-skilled levels while there was no difference in this regard between farm boys and girls. Girls in the white collar category stated that they had thought "some" or "very much" in slightly greater proportions than did white collar boys. The greatest difference in views between boys and girls was at the semi-skilled level. All farm boys had given some thought to occupation. Differences by socio-economic category were significant at the 5 per cent level.

There was a tendency for less consideration to be given to occupation as the socio-economic level declined. However, this was primarily due to the influence of the girls. Most students at all levels indicated that they had given some thought to vocations. Farm boys might be expected to think more about occupation since they begin work on the farm at an early age and are likely to decide if they want to go into farming or into some other occupation.

TABLE 47

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS' RESPONSES INDICATING THE EXTENT TO WHICH SENIORS THOUGHT ABOUT OCCUPATION

Occupation of father	Not at all or very little	Some or very much	Number
White collar	11	89	46
Girls	8	92	28
Boys	17	83	18
Skilled	8	92	48
Girls	15	85	27
Boys	0	100	21
Farmers	16	84	56
Girls	16	84	24
Boys	16	84	32
Semi-skilled	28	69	29
Girls	40	53	15
Boys	14	86	14

df - 3; X^2 - 8.148 and is significant at the 5 per cent level.

Persons may take some jobs temporarily while preparing for another vocation. It was deemed advisable to inquire of the students their long range aspirations and plans for occupation. Table 48 presents the responses to the question, "As you see things at present what kind of work do you *want* to be doing about ten years from now?" Inspection of Table 48 indicates that there was an increase in the proportion of seniors wanting to go into white collar positions as the socio-economic status rose. Differences were significant beyond the 1 per cent level. There is very little probability that the differences can be accounted for by chance variation.

Discussion of occupation should include a division by sex since boys may be more oriented toward occupation, and vocations available for women are restricted. Girls may be more concerned about marriage than preparing for an occupation. Among the girls there was an increase in the percentage wanting to go into white collar work as the socio-economic level went up except at the semi-skilled level where the proportion was higher than for the farm girls. Three-fifths of the daughters of white collar workers wished to go into white collar occupations while about one-third of the daughters of skilled workers, one-sixth of the farmers' daughters, and about one-fourth of the daughters in the semi-skilled classification preferred white collar positions. Few girls desired occupations other than white collar and marriage. Two girls at each level except white collar wanted skilled jobs. There was a tendency for the percentage of girls wanting marriage as the chief occupation to increase as the socio-economic status declined except that the farm girls, as one might expect, were more strongly oriented toward marriage than girls at any other level.

TABLE 48

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY KIND OF WORK THEY WISH TO BE DOING TEN YEARS LATER

Occupation of father	white collar	Skilled	Farmer	Semi-Skilled	Get married	Other don't know	Number
White collar	61	4	0	0	20	15	46
Girls	60	0	0	0	32	7	28
Boys	61	11	0	0	0	28	18
Skilled	37	17	0	0	29	17	48
Girls	30	7	0	0	52	11	27
Boys	48	28	0	0	0	24	21
Farmers	23	9	23	0	32	13	56
Girls	17	8	0	0	75	0	24
Boys	28	9	41	0	0	22	32
Semi-skilled	21	32	3	7	27	10	29
Girls	27	13	0	0	53	7	15
Boys	14	50	7	14	0	14	14

df - 9; X^2 - 28.92 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level.

Among the boys a wider range of vocations was desired, and more of them were uncertain regarding the occupations they wanted. More than half the sons of white collar employees and about one-half the boys of skilled workers preferred white collar positions. About one-fourth of the farm boys and about one-tenth in the semi-skilled classification aspired to white collar work.

Higher level vocations which the sons of white collar workers wanted to enter were: automotive engineer (2), other type engineers (4), business (2), and mortician, forest ranger, and teacher. One boy had not decided between photography and farming. White collar occupations desired by sons of skilled workers were: teachers (4), and salesman, mortician, announcer, banking, and engineer or draftsman. White collar vocations aspired to by farm boys were engineer (4), and lawyer, veterinarian, minister, and accountant. Only two boys at the semi-skilled level preferred white collar positions—one desired teaching and the other aspired to be manager of a business.

Relatively few boys wanted skilled jobs, and the highest proportion of these were at the semi-skilled level. Two boys in the white collar classification looked forward to working on the railroad. Six sons of skilled workers apparently desired skilled work: two wished to enter the navy (one specified electronics); two wanted to work in a garage; one aspired to be a carpenter and one a barber. Among the farm boys three desired skilled work: airplane pilot, machinist, and mechanic. Seven boys in the semi-skilled classification preferred skilled or protective work: automobile mechanic or "mechanical" (4); state patrol, and policeman. Only sons of farmers looked forward to farming as their life work. One white collar boy did not know for sure whether he wanted to go into farming or photography. Only two boys desired to enter semi-skilled occupations, and these were two boys in the semi-skilled category who aspired to be truck drivers. One boy the son of a farmer was undecided whether to become a truck driver or a farmer. He was interested in being a truck driver against the wishes of his parents.

When the seniors were asked what they expected to be doing rather than what they preferred to be doing about ten years in the future a changed pattern of responses emerged. Table 49 gives the occupational expectations of the seniors—the occupations the seniors expected to have a decade later. Computation of chi square indicated that the differences between status categories were not significant at the 5 per cent level. The differences could be explained by chance variation about twenty times out of a hundred. At the white collar, skilled, and farmer levels, there was little variation in the percentage of students who expected to be in white collar vocations ten years later. Only about one-tenth of the children of semi-skilled workers expected to enter the higher occupations.

TABLE 49

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS' EXPECTED OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION TEN YEARS LATER

Occupation of father	White collar	Skilled	Farmer	Semi-skilled	Girls get married	Don't know, no aspiration	Number
White collar	26	4	0	0	30	39	46
Girls	21	0	0	0	50	30	28
Boys	33	11	0	0	0	56	18
Skilled	29	21	0	0	27	23	48
Girls	22	7	0	0	48	22	27
Boys	38	38	0	0	0	24	21
Farmers	23	7	21	0	23	25	56
Girls	25	8	0	0	54	8	24
Boys	22	6	38	0	0	34	32
Semi-skilled	14	21	3	3	28	31	29
Girls	13	7	0	0	53	27	15
Boys	14	36	7	7	0	36	14

df - 9; X^2 - 13.47 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

The students in the white collar classification anticipated primarily being in white collar vocations or didn't know what particular occupation they would be following. About two-fifths of the sons of skilled and semi-skilled parents expected to be in skilled work, and about two-fifths of the farm boys expected to be engaged in farming. Only one boy anticipated that he would be doing semi-skilled work, and his father was in the semi-skilled classification.

A comparison of Tables 48 and 49 is given in Table 50 which lists the differences in percentages between the students' vocational aspirations and expected occupations ten years later. A reduction in those anticipating white collar employment is seen in the percentages at all socio-economic levels except that of farmers. The greatest difference was in the white collar classification followed by the skilled and semi-skilled categories. There was an increase in the proportion of boys in the skilled category and a decrease in the percentage at the semi-skilled level in those expecting to be in skilled work ten years later.

TABLE 50

DIFFERENCES IN PERCENTAGES BETWEEN SENIORS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS TEN YEARS LATER

Occupation of father	White collar	Skilled	Farmer	Get married	Don't know
White collar	–35	0	0	0	+24
Girls	–39	0	0	+18	+23
Boys	–28	0	0	0	+28
Skilled	– 8	+ 4	– 2	0	+ 6
Girls	– 8	0	0	– 4	+11
Boys	–10	+10	– 3	0	0
Farmers	0	2	0	0	+12
Girls	+ 8	0	0	–21	+ 8
Boys	– 6	– 3	0	0	+12
Semi-skilled	– 7	–11	0	0	+21
Girls	–14	– 7	0	0	+20
Boys	0	–14	0	0	+22

With regard to change in anticipation of marriage by girls, there was a considerable increase in the percentage in the white collar classification (+18), a large decrease among the farm girls, and a small decline (–4) at the skilled level. No change occurred in the percentage of the daughters of semi-skilled workers.

An increase in the proportion among those who were undecided occurred at all levels with the greatest difference in the white collar classification. The next greatest increase in the undecided was among children of semi-skilled workers, and the least change was in the skilled category. At every level the boys had a greater percentage difference than did the girls in the "don't know" response. Perhaps the girls aspired to secretarial or clerical positions and felt more certain of attaining these vocations than did the boys who might aspire to professions which require long training. The large proportion of boys in the white collar category who were undecided with regard to their future occupations ten years later apparently did not indicate that they contemplated entering lower level jobs since most of these boys planned to attend college. The uncertainty was probably relative to the particular vocation rather than the level of the anticipated occupation.

To what extent did the seniors think that they were facing a problem in gaining entrance to the occupations to which they aspired? Table 51 presents the students' estimations of difficulty which they would experience in entering occupations. Relatively few seniors stated that they thought that it would be "very difficult" for them to gain entrance to their desired vocations. Ten per cent or less at each socio-economic level gave this reply. There appeared to be no strong pattern of opinion according to status level. Differences in response by occupational category were not significant at the 5 per cent level. The largest proportion of boys at the white collar level (50 per cent) responded, "fairly difficult," while the girls at this level

TABLE 51

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
DIFFICULTY ANTICIPATED IN ENTERING DESIRED OCCUPATIONS

Occupation of father	Fairly easy	Fairly difficult	Very difficult	Don't know or did not ask	Number
White collar	39	35	7	19	46
Girls	53	25	4	18	28
Boys	17	50	11	22	18
Skilled	50	25	4	21	48
Girls	52	11	8	30	27
Boys	48	43	0	9	21
Farmers	53	32	5	9	56
Girls	50	25	4	21	24
Boys	56	38	6	0	32
Semi-skilled	41	24	10	24	29
Girls	40	20	13	27	15
Boys	43	29	7	21	14

df - 6; X^2 - 5.98 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level. In computing chi square combined the categories "Fairly difficult" and "Very difficult."

had the largest percentage who replied "fairly easy." At all other occupational levels both girls and boys had the largest proportion answering "fairly easy." Why did the boys in the white collar category have a high percentage who considered that entrance into occupations would be fairly difficult and a low proportion who thought that entrance into vocations would be fairly easy? It is possible that the boys at the upper level were more realistic in their appraisal of the situation. Most of them planned to attend college. Some occupations were professional in nature with long, hard years of training being required for admittance into the vocation. These students probably realized that they might have difficulty in completing the necessary higher education.

Students at lower levels tended to aspire to jobs which did not necessitate extended education. These positions could be entered directly or with little training; therefore, the seniors desiring these vocations might be more optimistic about attaining their objectives.

About one-fourth of the seniors at the semi-skilled level, about one-fifth at the white collar and skilled levels, and about one-tenth of the farm youth had no answer or did not know how difficult it would be to enter their aspired to occupations. The explanation for these rather high percentages is that a considerable number of the seniors had not definitely decided on a specific vocation. They could not know how difficult it would be to enter an occupation since they had not selected one or were somewhat doubtful about the vocation they wished to undertake. Some students probably did not know how difficult it would be to gain entrance to their intended life's work.

Another factor to be considered in studying aspirations is the intensity of feeling about entering a vocation. Table 52 gives the responses of the seniors to the question, "How strongly do you feel about going into this occupation?" Strength of feeling about undertaking particular vocations, like thought given to occupation, and difficulty expected in entering a particular occupation, did not follow a clear pattern with regard to socio-economic status. It may be expected that there would be fewer consistent differences in responses to these questions than to those relating to educational and occupational goals. A person may aspire to a lower level vocation, think a great deal about it, and feel as strongly about pursuing it as another person who aspired to a high prestige vocation. The calculation of chi square indicated that the differences were not significant at the 5 per cent level. Chance variation would account for the differences about twenty times out of a hundred.

When asked about their "strength of feeling" about entering a specified occupation the sons and daughters of semi-skilled workers gave the response "very strongly" in smaller proportions than did those in the other categories. Many of the students at the lower level probably had not done much serious planning about their future work. The girls at the white collar level had the largest percentage who responded "very strongly." There were a few students at each level who, having chosen an occupation, felt "not at all strongly" toward entering the selected life's work.

Among the boys the highest proportion responding "very strongly" was in the farmer category. Perhaps, the boys planning to engage in farming felt more committed to this occupation since it had been so much a part of their lives as compared to other boys who might not have had real contact with their intended vocations. The farm boys having been reared on a farm, perhaps, looked upon farming not only as a means of earning a living but also as a way of

TABLE 52

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS BY EXPRESSED STRENGTH OF FEELING ABOUT ENTERING DESIRED OCCUPATION

Occupation of father	Not at all strongly	Fairly strongly	Very strongly	Don't know no answer	Number
White collar	4	28	52	15	46
Girls	3	29	57	11	28
Boys	6	28	44	22	18
Skilled	15	29	41	15	48
Girls	19	22	37	22	27
Boys	9	38	48	5	21
Farmers	3	42	48	7	56
Girls	0	42	42	17	24
Boys	6	41	53	0	32
Semi-skilled	3	38	35	24	29
Girls	0	33	33	33	15
Boys	7	43	36	14	14

df - 9; X^2 - 13.385 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

life. Living in the country, working in the open, and being one's own boss represented values to many rural persons. The farm youth might have stronger feelings toward engaging in agriculture and leading a rural life than other boys who were only considering a means of earning a livelihood.

With the transition of our society from an agricultural to an industrial economy, work habits of youth have changed. In an earlier period, young people were employed around the farm. Today, there are few home chores for the adolescent. During summer months schools generally are not in session, and during the school year some time is available after school hours. To what extent is this time used for occupational experiences? Table 53 presents data on the proportions of seniors employed at gainful work during the summer and after school hours. As may be surmised from an inspection of the table, the differences were not significant at the 5 per cent level.

Almost all boys and most of the girls had work experience during the summer months. Not so many students worked after school

TABLE 53

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS ENGAGED IN GAINFUL WORK DURING SUMMER AND AFTER SCHOOL

Occupation of father	Summer	After School	Number
White collar	85	56	46
Girls	75	43	28
Boys	100	77	18
Skilled	85	58	48
Girls	78	63	27
Boys	95	53	21
Farmers	80	52	56
Girls	63	29	24
Boys	94	69	32
Semi-skilled	89	62	29
Girls	73	53	15
Boys	100	71	14

df - 6; X^2 - 4.236 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level. Combined summer and after school work in computing chi square.

although more than half the seniors had been employed during the school year. Boys reported a variety of work experiences. The senior boys in the white collar category principally were employed in minor white collar jobs with a few doing farm work. Sons of skilled workers served in stores, garages, and a filling station; one helped on a farm and one hauled hay. The farm boys worked chiefly on the farm although a few did mechanical and clerical work. One farm boy was serving as a minister. The sons of semi-skilled workers reported doing work in stores, on the farm, and at carpentry.

There were few differences in work experience among the girls. Girls at most socio-economic levels reported sales work such as clerk in store and car hopping. Many girls mentioned baby sitting. A girl in the white collar category played the organ in church while

TABLE 54

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVES IN THE OCCUPATIONS SENIORS DESIRED TO ENTER

Occupation of father	None	Father Mother	Broth. Sister	Aunt Uncle	Cousin Grand-parent	Did not answer	Number
White collar	63	16	2	17	4	7	46
Girls	68	11	4	21	4	0	28
Boys	56	22	0	11	6	17	18
Skilled	54	12	2	15	14	6	48
Girls	52	7	0	22	15	7	27
Boys	57	19	5	5	15	5	21
Farmers	43	30	14	36	9	7	56
Girls	63	4	4	13	8	13	24
Boys	28	50	22	53	9	3	32
Semi-skilled	55	24	3	7	7	7	29
Girls	60	13	7	0	7	13	15
Boys	50	36	0	14	7	0	14

Total per cent may be more than 100 since some seniors had different relatives in the occupations they wanted to enter.

df - 9; X^2 - 15.92 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level, but is at the 10 per cent level. In computing chi square, father, mother, brother, and sister were combined into one category and aunt, uncle, cousin, and grandparent were combined into another category.

only farm girls reported doing housework. The girls at the semiskilled level were chiefly employed as waitresses.

In aspiring to occupations, do adolescents use parents and other relatives as models? Table 54 presents data on the relationship between occupational aspirations and relatives in the desired occupations. The value of chi square was not significant at the 5 per cent level but was at the 10 per cent level. Senior boys at all levels except farm youth were not planning to follow in family vocations and were not greatly influenced by relatives already in a particular field of work. At least half of the sons in each category excluding farm boys reported that they had no relatives in the occupations they desired to enter. Only about one-fourth of the farmers' sons stated that they had no relatives in their intended life's work. Half of the farm boys had fathers and over one-half had uncles in their chosen field. One-fifth had brothers in the desired vocation. Other than farm youth only a small proportion had relatives to serve as occupational models.

The girls at every level except the daughters of skilled workers had a higher percentage than the boys reporting that they did not have any relatives in the occupation they desired to enter. The farm girls had the highest proportion not having relatives working in occupations which they planned to enter. The mothers of farm girls as well as other farm relatives were not so likely to be working outside the home. If the farm girl had chosen a vocation she would not be so likely to have a family model to follow with regard to her life work.

Apparently the choice of occupation developed less from specific models supplied by parents or other relatives than from the attitudes, values, and beliefs which grow in the social atmosphere of the family and other social institutions.

Have seniors discussed the subject of vocation with persons engaged in the occupations the seniors want to enter? Information concerning this question is presented in Table 55. With little variation in the figures the value of chi square was not significant at the 5 per cent level. More than half the students at each socio-economic level, except the farm youth, had not talked with someone in the field to which they aspired. Slightly over half the adolescents discussed the matter of life work with someone in their field of choice. The proportion of farm boys who talked about vocations with someone engaged in the work which they desired to enter was greater than that at any other level. The farm boys probably had a greater opportunity to be in contact with such persons than students at other levels. Since a number of farm boys planned to enter agricultural work, they probably discussed farming with fathers, uncles, and other relatives.

Occupations which some seniors aspired to were not represented in the community. These seniors would not have much opportunity to be in contact with persons in their desired fields. For example, one boy at the white collar level aspired to be an automotive engineer, but there were no jobs of this type in the area. Boys in the white collar category had the smallest proportion who had talked to persons engaged in the occupation to which they aspired.

Persons with whom the seniors discussed vocations included relatives, teachers, employers, friends, and other persons who were in the desired positions. Some students reported talking to the guidance director and parents. If the parents were not in the occupations aspired to by the sons and daughters, they were not included in the figures.

TABLE 55

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS WHO HAD TALKED WITH SOMEONE IN THE OCCUPATION TO WHICH THEY ASPIRED

Occupation of father	Yes	Number
White collar	48	46
Girls	54	28
Boys	39	39
Skilled	46	48
Girls	37	27
Boys	57	21
Farmers	54	56
Girls	42	24
Boys	63	32
Semi-skilled	45	29
Girls	47	15
Boys	43	14

df - 3; X^2 - 8.77 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

Did a particular individual incline the students to desire to enter a specified occupation? Table 56 gives the responses of the seniors to a question with regard to the "one person" who influenced them the most toward wanting to take up a vocation. A few seniors listed more than one individual. Also, several adolescents gave the response "parents" or "folks" rather than specifying one of the parents. The differences by status level were not significant at the 5 per cent level.

There appeared to be no individual who was predominately influential on the seniors' choice of occupation. In fact, the largest proportion at every socio-economic level, except semi-skilled, responded "no one" or "no one in particular." More than one-third of the students in each category except semi-skilled (which was 29 per cent) maintained that no one in particular had inclined them toward a vocation. Half the boys at the skilled level gave this answer while about one-third of the boys in the other socio-economic categories had the same response.

It seems to be rather significant that such small proportions of the seniors indicated influence by relatives. Of course, relatives were important to some extent in determining choice of occupation; the proportions at each level varied from about one-fourth at the white collar and skilled levels to about two-fifths in the semi-skilled category. Parents and especially the father at some levels were reported as an influence on choice of occupation. As might be expected, farm boys reported in the largest proportions that their fathers had played a part in their selection of vocation. One-third of the farm males gave this response.

Other relatives who were reported in small proportions as influencing the students included: brother, sister, grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, and brother-in-law. It should be noted that the seniors in the semi-skilled category mentioned the encouragement of relatives in larger proportions than did the adolescents at any other level. In fact, the youth at the lowest status positions made no mention of teacher or employer while the seniors at most other levels reported them but in small percentages.

Persons other than relatives who were specified as having a bearing on the choice of occupation were teachers, guidance director, employer, minister, friends, fellow workers, and Salvation Army officer. Teachers were reported in the white collar, skilled, and farmer categories and more by girls than by boys. One boy signi-

TABLE 56

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE "ONE PERSON" WHOM THE SENIORS FELT HAD INFLUENCED THEM MOST TO WANT TO ENTER AN OCCUPATION

Occupation of father	Father	Mother	Parents	Sister, Brother	Other Rel's	Total Rel's	Teacher	Employer	Friend	No One	Other	Did Not Ask	No.
White collar	6	8	4	2	4	25	10	4	4	35	17	4	48
Girls	4	7	7	4	0	22	14	0	7	39	18	0	28
Boys	10	10	0	0	10	30	5	10	0	30	15	10	20
Skilled	4	10	4	2	4	24	6	0	6	43	15	6	51
Girls	0	11	4	0	0	15	4	0	7	37	26	11	27
Boys	8	8	4	4	8	33	8	0	4	50	4	0	24
Farmers	21	7	0	2	4	33	7	2	4	35	14	5	57
Girls	4	8	0	0	4	17	17	4	0	33	17	12	24
Boys	33	6	0	3	3	46	0	0	6	36	12	0	33
Semi-skilled	19	10	3	6	3	42	0	0	3	29	13	13	31
Girls	18	12	0	12	6	47	0	0	6	24	6	18	17
Boys	21	7	7	0	0	36	0	0	0	36	21	7	14

Total percentage may be more than 100 since some students specified more than one person. In computing chi square used the following categories: "Total Relatives"; "Teacher, Employer and Friends"; "No One"; "Did Not Ask" and "Other Responses."

df - 9; X^2 - 8.056 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

fied that he had worked in a filling station and certain of his customers encouraged him to become an engineer.

Other influences reported primarily by girls were personal experiences. A girl heard a dramatic account on the radio and chose nursing; another girl "received a message from Christ" and desired to be a missionary.

Some parents did want their children to follow a particular occupation but would not directly try to force them to enter the occupation. One father at the white collar level hoped that his son would take over the family business. Not only the father but also the grandfather and possibly the great-grandfather had followed this occupation. The senior's father and mother stated that they had not spoken to their son with regard to the work he should follow. The son corroborated this statement. His parents had not recommended a vocation to him, and he did not know what occupation he wanted to enter. He apparently had not given serious consideration to his life work. His brother-in-law was a geologist, and he had become somewhat interested in this field. He simply had not decided on any vocation by the time he reached the senior year in high school. However, when asked what he was best fitted to do, he believed that it would be his father's business.

vocation by the time he reached the senior year in high school. How-

During the school year, the father brought home some literature which he had acquired on a trip to New York. This literature from a university in Florida described training which was given for the occupation in which the father was engaged. The boy and his parents visited the university, and the son became enthusiastic about attending it and taking up the father's occupation. The son never attended this institution but did go on to college. Before obtaining a degree the son returned to work in the family business when the father became ill. Later, the son took a six month specialized course in this field and continued in the father's business as assistant manager.

The parents of this boy wanted him to follow in the father's business, but they did not try to induce him directly to go into any occupation during his early years. They did not tell him that he must or should follow a family occupation. They did not suggest any particular occupation. The boy gave little thought to what work he should enter. By indirection the parents probably put across to the boy that the father's occupation was desirable. The possibility for training in the father's occupation at a distant university had some appeal to the boy, and he gradually accepted the idea of following in his father's footsteps.

Judging by the replies of the seniors there was, in general, relatively little overt pressure by the parents to force their children to enter a particular occupation. However, the seniors growing up in the family group doubtless acquired some of the attitudes, habits, and values of the parents.

As young people mature they probably consider a number of occupations which they may enter and finally decide upon one of them. At what age do youth make a firm commitment to a vocation? Table 57 presents information concerning this question for these high school seniors. Differences in response by status level were significant beyond the 1 per cent level. Two-thirds of the students in the white collar category chose the occupation which they intended to enter at the time of the interview during their senior high school years. Except for farm youth only a small proportion selected an occupation during elementary school, and the highest percentage who chose a vocation at the junior high school level was only 14 per cent. No boy at the white collar level decided on his choice of vo-

TABLE 57

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TIME WHEN SENIORS SELECTED AN OCCUPATION

Occupation of father	Elementary school	Junior high	Senior high	No occupation or undecided	Number
White collar	4	7	67	22	46
Girls	7	4	78	11	28
Boys	0	11	50	39	18
Skilled	6	10	60	23	48
Girls	7	7	63	22	27
Boys	5	14	57	24	21
Farmers	34	14	26	25	56
Girls	29	13	29	29	24
Boys	37	16	25	22	32
Semi-skilled	10	10	35	45	29
Girls	0	0	53	47	15
Boys	21	21	14	43	14

df - 9; X^2 - 36.961 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level.

cation in elementary school. A considerable proportion of these boys were still undecided with regard to their life work at the time of the interview. The students at the skilled level followed about the same pattern as did those at the white collar level. Only a very small proportion selected their field of work in elementary and junior high schools and over half decided in senior high school.

Farm youth tended to select their future occupations earlier than the young people of any other level. One-third selected a vocation in elementary school, one-seventh in junior high school and one-fourth in senior high school. The boys might be expected to be interested in farming from an early age. Practically all farm boys who made a decision in elementary school planned to go into farming. A fairly large percentage of farm girls stated that they had selected their intended occupation in elementary school.

Over one-fifth of the boys at the semi-skilled level reported that they had made a decision of their future work in elementary school. One-fifth selected their vocations in junior high school and one-fifth in senior high school. There was a tendency for the seniors to select their life work later as the socio-economic status went up.

When the students were asked why they selected their particular occupations, a variety of answers was received with many seniors giving more than one reply. One type response seemed to be given more than any other, "I liked it" or "It interested me." There was a tendency not to name persons as influencing them toward an occupation although some few seniors did mention a particular individual. Table 58 gives the percentage of students giving the reply, "I like" or "It interested me." There was an increase in the proportion of girls (but not boys) giving this response as the socio-economic level went up.

Illustrations or examples of answers will be given of the responses at different socio-economic levels. A senior boy at the white collar level who had an ambition to be an automotive engineer said automobiles "fascinate me." In junior high school he liked to look at an engine operating and wondered what made it go. He indicated that he did not desire to be a mechanic and work on motors; he wanted to design and plan the operation and improvement of automobiles like some automotive engineer in Detroit.

One-third of the boys at the white collar level mentioned liking the occupation. One boy reported talking to his grandfather, who influenced him to want to go on the railroad. A boy who wanted to be a mortician said that he had started working in a furniture store and sometimes helped in the funeral home which was owned by the same firm. He talked with the undertaker and decided that he would like to take up the work. In addition to liking the things which went with a particular kind of occupation, two boys mentioned that the pay was fairly good. A boy who was interested in engineering liked puzzles and read *Popular Mechanics.*

TABLE 58

PERCENTAGE OF SENIORS WHO RESPONDED "LIKE IT" OR "IT INTERESTED ME" AS THE REASON FOR SELECTING AN OCCUPATION

Occupation of father	Like it, interested me	Number
White collar	5	46
Girls	64	28
Boys	33	18
Skilled	46	48
Girls	52	27
Boys	38	21
Farmers	32	56
Girls	42	24
Boys	25	32
Semi-skilled	17	29
Girls	7	15
Boys	29	14

Several adolescent males at the skilled level were just interested in the work. They had come in contact with the occupation through friends, relatives, or work experience. A few boys made fantasy choices; they had little contact with the vocation and apparently made no effort to enter the field of work. Several boys became interested in particular occupations because of having read about them.

Farm boys planning to farm naturally had intimate contact with the rural way of life. Also mentioned were Future Farmers Association and 4-H participation. Others were interested in different occupations through relatives, friends, and impersonal factors such as reading and television. The young man in the ministry felt that he had been selected or "called" into this field of work.

Four boys at the semi-skilled level stated that they liked the work or thought that they would like the work they contemplated entering. Two boys liked to "fool around" with engines and mechanical things and developed an interest in mechanics. One boy always admired railroad fireman, and it was a "good paying job." Another youth at the semi-skilled level read some books on the state patrol. Another boy could not remember why he wanted to become a policeman; he did prefer to be on a squad car since he did not desire to walk.

In addition to other reasons about two-thirds of the girls in the white collar category said that they liked or enjoyed the occupation which they hoped to enter or were interested in it. They had taken courses in music, stenography, or other fields and enjoyed the classwork. The vocation of teaching music was closest to the field of concert music which a girl desired but did not hope to attain. As a second choice, she selected public school music. The director of a music camp influenced one girl toward Christian service while a father led another girl toward a career in art. The death of an uncle in World War II caused another senior to think of nursing as a field of work in which she might help save lives.

Half the girls in the skilled category selected their occupations because of liking the particular vocations. Some other influences reported were: taking courses in school, radio broadcasts, and personal experiences such as taking a plane ride or watching a motion picture. A girl with high ambition at the skilled level said with regard to her intended occupation:

> Sounded like a challenge. I could not take something that was routine. It would be a benefit to other people. I saw a TV program on mental conditions. I talked with the guidance director. I wanted to be a big shot.

Two-fifths of the farm girls liked the work and the conditions connected with the type of vocations they had selected. Their interest had been aroused by courses taken at school, reading books, personal experiences and individuals.

Only one girl at the semi-skilled level mentioned liking or being interested in an occupation. Other reasons for thinking of particular vocations were courses in school, advertisement for an airline hostess, and the influence of a sister who was employed at this work. One girl will wait until she was out of school and then look for a job.

Seniors when asked why they selected a particular occupation gave varied answers with the largest proportion of responses being that they liked the intended occupation or they were interested in it. In this regard there was not a pattern of responses as far as the boys were concerned, but among the girls there was an increase in the proportion giving this reply as the socio-economic level rose. The boys at the upper level were more inclined to be interested in the occupation from an intellectual or scientific view while the boys in the lower classifications tended to be interested in the vocation from practical experience. Also, there were more fantasy choices at the lower levels. Other reasons given for the selection of an occupation included courses in school, influence of relatives, information from books, newspapers, television and radio, and personal contact with the occupation. Farm boys planning to farm emphasized their background of experience in farming. There were relatively few seniors making reference to the pay or to the prestige of the occupation.

As has been indicated from time to time, some seniors were un-

TABLE 59

PERCENTAGE OF SENIORS WHO CHANGED MIND ON CHOICE OF OCCUPATION DURING PRECEDING YEAR

Occupation of father	Yes	No answer	Number
White collar	33	9	46
Girls	39	0	28
Boys	22	22	18
Skilled	21	23	48
Girls	18	26	27
Boys	24	19	21
Farmers	18	11	56
Girls	21	21	24
Boys	16	3	32
Semi-skilled	38	14	29
Girls	53	20	15
Boys	21	7	14

df - 6; X^2 - 10.412; and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

decided about the vocations they planned to enter. Were they continually changing their minds about their intended occupations? In order to gain some information concerning this question, the seniors were asked: "Have you changed your mind in the past year on your choice of occupation?" The replies are given in Table 59. The value of chi square is not significant at the 5 per cent level. Chance variation would account for the differences about twenty times out of a hundred. Less than half the seniors reported that they had changed their minds during the preceding year with regard to the occupations which they wanted to enter. The students at the semi-skilled level had the highest percentage indicating that they had changed their minds, followed by the seniors at the white collar and skilled levels. The farm youth had the lowest proportion changing their minds and the highest proportion stating that they had not altered their choices during the previous year.

There were sex differences in changing of mind, with girls having a greater percentage of shifts than the boys at each socio-economic level except the skilled. The differences were small at the farmer and skilled levels and larger at the semi-skilled and white collar levels. In the white collar category the girls tended to switch from one white collar vocation to another occupation on the same level. Sons of white collar workers had few shifts in their choices of occupation although some boys had thought about other positions.

Some seniors asserted that they had not seriously considered an occupation other than the one already mentioned. Some students who were undecided listed vocations which they had considered, and some who had selected their future work mentioned jobs which they had thought about entering. Table 60 presents information of occupations considered by the seniors other than the vocations desired at the time of the interview. The differences in response by socio-economic level were significant beyond the 1 per cent level. There was little likelihood that the differences could be explained by chance variation. In some instances the seniors spoke of several positions they had previously thought about. If the selections were all in one socio-economic category, the student's response was classified at the appropriate level. If the senior reported occupations at different status positions, then his response was listed under "mixed." Rather small proportions of the seniors listed occupations at different levels. The boys in the white collar classification had the largest proportion in the mixed category with the daughters of the semi-skilled having the next highest proportion giving this response.

The boys at the white collar level reported that they had considered professional or white collar work for the most part. A boy who was undecided about his vocation mentioned dentistry, pharmacy, office work, and carpentry, and another who wanted to become an automotive engineer had considered mechanical engineer and car dealer. At the skilled level about one-third of the boys had considered white collar employment and about one-fifth, skilled work. A boy who aspired to become a coach had thought about working on the railroad to follow his father's vocation; later, he entered railroad work and also continued in college where he is studying to become a coach.

TABLE 60

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS CONSIDERED BY SENIORS OTHER THAN INTENDED OCCUPATION

Occupation of father	White collar	Skilled	Farmer	Semi-skilled	Mixed	Military serv. no answer	Number
White collar	74	2	0	0	13	11	46
Girls	89	0	0	0	0	11	28
Boys	50	6	0	0	33	11	18
Skilled	53	10	2	0	6	27	48
Girls	70	4	0	0	4	22	27
Boys	33	19	5	0	10	33	21
Farmers	38	14	4	5	11	28	56
Girls	58	8	0	0	8	25	24
Boys	22	19	6	9	12	31	32
Semi-skilled	28	14	0	7	17	34	29
Girls	40	0	0	0	27	33	15
Boys	14	28	0	14	7	36	14

df - 9; X^2 - 26.09 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level. In computing chi square combined the categories "Skilled," "Farmer," and "Semi-skilled" into one category.

One-fifth of the farm boys had considered white collar employment. The farm boy who had originally chosen white collar occupations also weighed other white collar vocations rather than skilled work. The boy who was a minister had thought about medicine and teaching. The boy who aspired to be a veterinarian had considered medicine and the "F.B.I.". One who wanted to become a lawyer had reflected upon music and farming.

The girls at all levels were concentrated primarily in white collar positions. Three girls considered work as a waitress; one was a farm girl, and the other two were daughters of semi-skilled workers. The farm girl had thought about restaurant work, housework, and singer on the radio.

In general, other occupations pondered by the students tended to follow the general pattern as their desired life work at the time of interview. There was an increase in the proportion who had reflected upon white collar occupations as the socio-economic level went up. The seniors instead of thinking about occupations at random tended to consider occupations at about the same socio-economic level. In a small town the range of occupations is likely to be rather narrow, and the students would not have the opportunity to become familiar with many different vocations. The aspirations of the young people tended to follow traditional patterns.

Do adolescents have an ideal person or a model after whom they consciously try to pattern themselves? Table 61 presents some information relative to the question, "Whom would you like to be like?" The differences by status level were not significant at the 5 per cent level. In fact, chance variation explains the differences about fifty times out of a hundred. Most seniors stated that they did not want to be like anyone. As the socio-economic level went up, there was a larger proportion stating that they had a personal model in mind. None of the seniors at the semi-skilled level wanted to be like their parents or other relatives except that one girl did prefer to be like her sister. A few students at the other levels had close relatives as models.

Other persons whom the seniors expressed a desire of wanting to imitate at the white collar level included for the girls: a friend, a registered nurse, and movie stars, Pat Boone, Marilyn Monroe, and Susan van Wyck. Two boys at the white collar level wanted to be like a coach, and one boy wanted to be as smart "as a fellow who is a jack of all trades." This man who worked for the senior's father was a mechanic or maintenance man who could "repair or fix anything."

At the skilled level, a few girls wanted to be similar to friends. One girl wanted to be like "parts of many people." The boys preferred Steinmetz, Pat Boone, a good business man, and an art teacher.

TABLE 61

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS WHOM THE SENIORS WOULD LIKE TO BE LIKE

Occupation of father	No one don't know	Father Mother	Aunt Uncle	Gr'father Gr'mother	Sister	Other	Number
White collar	67	8	2	2	0	20	46
Girls	71	7	4	0	0	18	28
Boys	61	11	0	6	0	22	18
Skilled	75	2	6	2	0	15	48
Girls	78	4	7	0	0	11	27
Boys	71	0	5	5	0	19	21
Farmers	76	4	2	0	0	18	56
Girls	88	4	0	0	0	8	24
Boys	69	3	3	0	0	25	32
Semi-skilled	91	0	0	0	3	6	29
Girls	86	0	0	0	7	7	15
Boys	93	0	0	0	0	7	14

df - 6; X^2 - 6.13 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level. In computing chi square used the categories "No one," "Relatives," and "Others."

Farm girls wanted to be like a teacher and "someone with a pleasant personality." The farm boys chose as their models: local lawyer, veterinarian, pastor of church, state patrolman, owner of King Ranch, and President of the United States. One farm boy wished to be "a big cattle raiser like J. C. Penney," and another stated there were no persons whom he preferred to resemble but, "Gosh, I would like to have the money some people have."

At the semi-skilled level, a boy wanted to be similar to a professional football player, and a girl wished to resemble Loretta Young.

The fact that nine-tenths of the seniors at the semi-skilled level reported that they did not want to be like any particular person might indicate lower aspirations. These seniors tend to make fewer plans for education and occupation. Their lack of conscious choice for models of behavior might reflect that they had not given much consideration to their future careers. Only one child of semi-skilled fathers chose a relative to pattern after. Perhaps this was a reflection of "bad" family inter-personal relations. Also, many of the youth probably did not desire to be like their parents who did not have high positions. It is significant that the only models of the semi-skilled were fantasy choices—professional football players and actress.

The responses of seniors at levels other than semi-skilled were somewhat similar. However, the youth in the white collar category had the lowest percentage not choosing a model and the highest proportion selecting relatives or other persons as patterns of behavior. Although the students in the categories above the semi-skilled made some fantasy choices such as movie and television stars, they also selected prominent persons in the scientific and business world. There may have been the idea by these latter youth that they could achieve success and be like some of their "ideal persons." At least they had the hope or aspiration to achieve a high position. The small proportion of seniors in the upper levels desiring to be like parents, grandparents, and uncles may have reflected better family inter-personal relations. In addition the relatives may have had desirable positions or characteristics.

In their concern about marriage, do girls consider the socio-economic position of their prospective mates? The young women were asked, "What occupation would you prefer your husband to have?" The responses are given in Table 62. Differences by status level were significant at the 1 per cent level. A larger percentage wanted their husbands to be employed at white collar work as the socio-economic status rose. More than one-third of the daughters of white collar workers preferred that their spouses be at the same level as themselves. Vocations desired for their husbands included minister, teacher, and business man. About half of these girls asserted that it made no difference what the husband did or he should do what he wanted or liked to do.

One-fourth of the daughters of skilled workers desired mates who would be employed in white collar occupations. The remaining selections were divided, a few at the other socio-economic levels. Forty-four per cent had no preference of vocations for their husbands. The largest percentage of the daughters of farmers desired a husband engaged in farming while one-fifth wanted a husband doing white collar work. More than a third of these girls stated that it did not make any difference what employment their spouses had.

TABLE 62

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES GIRLS WOULD PREFER THEIR HUSBANDS TO HAVE

Occupation of father	Makes no difference	No answer don't know	White collar	Skilled	Farmer	Semi-skilled	Number
White collar	50	14	36	0	0	0	28
Skilled*	44	11	26	4	7	4	27
Farmers	38	4	21	4	33	0	24
Semi-skilled	73	7	13	0	7	0	15

df - 6; X^2 - 17.13 and is significant at the 1 per cent level.

* One girl at the skilled level wanted her husband to be in the Navy.

Nearly three-fourths of the females at the semi-skilled level indicated that they had no choice of occupation for their mates. One of these individuals stated that she had no preference, "Just a steady job; would want him to work steady at a pretty good job." Only one-fifth of the girls made a selection of employment which they desired for their husbands.

The response of the female adolescents seemd to reflect their status levels or anticipated positions. To some extent it reflected the boys whom they were dating. Some young women stated what their "boy friends" were doing as a preference for an occupation for the husband. The daughter of a minister wanted to marry a teacher or a minister. The girl who wanted her spouse to be manager of a grocery store was dating a boy who was working in a grocery store. The daughter of a skilled worker who wanted to be a physician desired to marry a doctor or lawyer. The females at the semi-skilled level wanted mates who would be regularly employed. A large percentage in each socio-economic category was indifferent with regard to the employment of their future husbands; however, the largest proportion was in the semi-skilled classification.

What plans did these young women have for themselves to work after marriage? Table 63 contains this information. The value of chi square indicated that the differences by status level were not significant at the 5 per cent level. The senior girls for the most part did not plan to work permanently outside the home after marriage. Daughters of farmers had the highest proportion stating that they did not desire to be employed after taking up their duties as wives. Because of their rural background the young farm women probably were more attached to homemaking than the girls at other levels.

TABLE 63

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GIRLS' WISHES WITH REGARD TO WORKING AFTER MARRIAGE

Occupation of father	Yes a career	If have to	For a while	No	Number
White collar	11	25	39	25	28
Skilled	11	19	44	26	27
Farmers	17	17	24	42	24
Semi-skilled	27	7	33	33	15

df - 9; X^2 - 6.79 and was not significant at the 5 per cent level.

One-third to one-fourth of the females at the other status levels did not desire to work after marriage. A number of them did not want to have outside employment after children arrived.

From one-fourth to one-half of the girls would hold jobs for a while, and others would be willing to work if they had to or if it were necessary in the early years of married life. After the husband was established in his occupation and earning a higher income the wife would remain at home.

Several girls at each socio-economic level indicated that they were interested in working indefinitely after marriage with the females in the semi-skilled category having the largest proportion desiring to be employed permanently. These young women possibly were accustomed to working and, perhaps, felt that there might be need for extra money.

Overall, there seemed to be little interest among these girls for careers. A fourth to two-fifths of the young women did not desire

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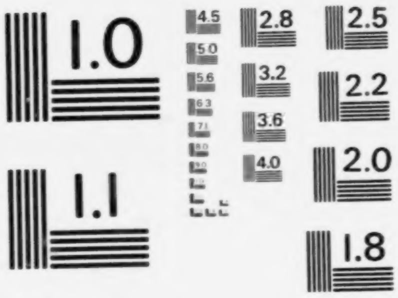
1.0
4.5
5.0
5.6
6.3
7.1
8.0
9.0
2.8
3.2
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4.0
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2.2
2.0
1.1
1.8
1.25
1.4
1.6

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

to work after marriage while many others would accept employment for a while or if it were necessary in order to provide for the family. A few at the lower levels would work indefinitely to obtain money for the support of the family.

Occupational aspirations of the students were related to their positions in the status hierarchy. As the socio-economic level rose an increased percentage of seniors aspired to white collar occupations. At the white collar and skilled levels, the largest proportion of students desired white collar positions while the children of farmers preferred white collar or farming work. The greatest percentage of youth in the semi-skilled category wanted to be skilled workers.

At the white collar level, the boys and girls had thought more, planned more, and felt more strongly about their future life's work than the young people in the lowest category. A portion of youth in the white collar classification were undecided about the specific positions they wished to fill. Since they aspired to higher education, they were really planning to prepare for white collar work.

The largest percentage of the sons of semi-skilled workers aspired to skilled jobs, and the girls desired to be married. The young people in the lowest category had not thought so seriously nor planned extensively about their future life's work. Many had not selected a vocation by their senior year in high school, and some who had chosen one were not strongly attached to the occupation. After graduation from high school, they would look for the best job they could find.

There was no general desire or expectation either by parents or children that the seniors follow in the fathers' occupations. In fact the large majority of students preferred to take up a vocation other than what the fathers were doing. No one influence on choice of vocation seemed to be operating although parents and other relatives were reported, to some extent, to have played a part in the selection of the young people's future life's work.

SCHOOL AND FAMILY BACKGROUNDS

Many factors influence young people in making decisions with reference to education and in choice of career. Intelligence does have some bearing on a person aspiring to and attending college. Sex and place of residence—rural or urban—presumably have some influence. Of great importance is the family, the socio-economic position of the individual, and other background factors. Previous success in school in obtaining grades and in participating in extracurricular activities may help determine continued educational advancement.

Some of these factors including test intelligence, grades, school activities, and family background will now be discussed. Characterizations of families at different status levels will be drawn. A brief discussion of possible loss of talent will also be given. Data concerning seniors of the 1956 class only will be presented in this section. Consideration will be given to the following proposition.

Proposition 8. Students at higher status levels will receive higher grades and participate more in school activities than students at lower status levels.

A distribution of the seniors' scholarship rank while in high school by percentile and Intelligence Quotients by percentile was obtained from the guidance director. The seniors were placed in quartiles according to scholarship and intelligence test scores by socio-economic levels as is seen in Table 64. The first quartile represents the lowest fourth of the class, and the fourth quartile is the highest ranking fourth of the class. Not included in these figures are the two boys at the white collar level who would have normally graduated the previous year, the boy at the skilled level who did not graduate the previous year, the boy at the skilled level who did not graduate in 1956, the girl at the skilled level who quit school at midyear, and the girl at the semi-skilled level who transferred to this school district during the school year.

Table 64 shows the rewards received in the form of grades at each socio-economic level. Differences in grades by status levels were significant beyond the 1 per cent level. The value of chi square was so high that there was very little likelihood that the differences could be explained by chance variation. There were no children at the white collar level in the lowest one-fourth of the class and no children of semi-skilled workers in the highest fourth. The students in the white collar category ranked highest scholastically, and the adolescents at the semi-skilled level ranked the lowest. As the socio-economic level declined there was an increase in the proportion in the lowest quartile, except in the fourth quartile there was a larger percentage of farm youth than children of skilled workmen. In other words, the farm youth ranked slightly higher scholastically than the young people at the skilled level.

A difference in scholastic rank was seen between the sexes. The girls received higher grades than the boys at every socio-economic level. The girls at the white collar category had the largest proportion in the highest fourth and none in the lowest fourth among the females. The farm girls ranked next with higher percentages in the third and fourth quartiles than the daughters of skilled workers. Over half the girls at the semi-skilled level were in the lowest one-fourth of the young women.

TABLE 64

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1956 SENIORS' INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS AND GRADES BY QUARTILE

Occupation of father	1st Quartile (low)		2nd Quartile		3rd Quartile		4th Quartile (high)	
	IQ	grades	IQ	grades	IQ	grades	IQ	grades
White collar	26	0	17	27	17	36	39	36
Girls	31	0	0	15	15	31	54	54
Boys	20	0	40	44	20	44	20	11
Skilled	36	20	14	35	27	25	23	20
Girls	33	0	25	27	17	36	25	36
Boys	40	44	0	44	40	11	20	0
Farmers	26	26	12	20	41	26	21	28
Girls	7	7	20	7	59	40	13	46
Boys	42	40	5	30	26	15	26	15
Semi-skilled	53	69	27	19	20	12	0	0
Girls	78	55	0	22	22	22	0	0
Boys	17	86	66	14	17	0	0	0

I.Q. df - 9; X^2 - 13.86 and is significant at the 5 per cent level. Grades df - 9; X^2 - 26.64 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level.

The first quartile refers to the lowest one-fourth in intelligence quotients and grades, and the fourth quartile refers to the highest fourth in intelligence quotients and grades.

No boys at the white collar level ranked in the lowest quartile scholastically. They were concentrated in the second and third quartiles. The farm boys had a slightly higher percentage than the white collar boys in the highest fourth. However, the largest proportion of the farm boys was in the lowest quartile, and nearly three-fourths of the farm boys were in the lower half among the males.

The sons of skilled workers were concentrated in the first and second quartiles with only one boy in the third quartile and none in the fourth quartile. The boys at the semi-skilled level were concentrated in the lowest fourth with one boy in the second and none in the third and fourth quartiles.

Distribution of Intelligence Quotients did not follow a completely consistent pattern, but it can be seen that the seniors at the white collar level had the highest percentage in the upper quartile and the lowest percentage in the first quartile (26 per cent, the farm children had the same). The students at the semi-skilled level had the highest percentage in the bottom quartile and the lowest percentage in the upper quartile (none). There was an increase in the percentage in the highest fourth of the class as the socio-economic status went up.

In comparing Intelligence Quotients and grades the seniors at the white collar level received less in grades than might be expected from the intelligence test scores in the first quartile and more than their expected share in the second and third quartiles. At the semi-skilled level the seniors received more than what might be expected in the lowest quartile and less in the second and third quartiles. In general, girls received higher grades than the Intelligence Quotients would indicate, and the boys received lower grades in comparison with their Intelligence Quotients. This was particularly noticeable with the girls at the skilled and farmer levels.

PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

To what extent do students at different socio-economic levels participate in the formally organized extra-curricular activities of the school? Table 65 indicates that participation decreased as the socio-economic level went down.[15] On the average there was a decrease of about two activities at each level except at the semi-skilled level where there was a decrease of three. The children of white collar fathers on the average took part in nine and three-fourth activities while children of semi-skilled workers averaged about two and a half activities. In other words, the children at the upper level belonged to or took part in three times more school organizations than did the children in the lowest category.

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[15] More detailed information on participation in activities is given in Appendix A.

TABLE 65

MEAN NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Occupation of father	Mean number of activities
White Collar	9.79
Girls	12.95
Boys	6.09
Skilled	7.56
Girls	9.67
Boys	5.00
Farmer	5.66
Girls	6.01
Boys	5.35
Semi-skilled	2.59
Girls	2.50
Boys	2.71

At every level the girls were more active in school organizations than were the boys. The greatest difference between the sexes was at the highest status stratum. Four girls of white collar parents and one daughter of a skilled worker reported more than twenty activities in which they participated. One boy at the skilled level reported eighteen activities, and one son of a farmer listed seventeen activities.

Boys at all levels competed in sports at about the same rate. However, the only office in an organization reported at the semi-skilled level was that of a boy in the athletic letter club. The youth with the semi-skilled fathers participated as strongly as those at the other levels in the Speech Club, Dramatics Club, and Diversified Occupations Club. There was about equal participation at all strata by the girls in the Home Economics Club.

To illustrate the low participation of the seniors at the bottom level, there were no children of semi-skilled workers in the Honor Society, Student Council, Annual Staff, School Newspaper Staff, Tumbling Club, Band, Latin Club, Junior Classical League, and Boys Glee Club. There were no girls from the semi-skilled level in the semi-offical Alladin Club, a girls' social club. The two senior cheer leaders came from the white collar and skilled levels.

USE OF GUIDANCE SERVICES

A formal guidance program had only recently been organized in many Missouri school systems. The guidance director in Trenton had been appointed only a year or so previous to this study. In general the counselor made himself available to the students on a volunteer basis. Students who wished to consult him made an appointment during a study hall. In some instances behavior problems were referred to him. Numerous college and university catalogues and information concerning occupations were kept on file in the guidance office. The students borrowed the catalogues and pamphlets and sought advice as desired.

The guidance director maintained an appointment record book in which he kept a fairly accurate account of all persons who consulted him. Information from the appointment record book was made available for this study. A breakdown by socio-economic level by mean times conferred with the counselor is given in Table 66. Boys generally consulted the guidance director more often than did the girls. The higher rate for the girls at the skilled level was due to one girl who had more appointments with the counselor than any other senior—twenty-four of them.

Services of the counselor were utilized differentially by persons at different levels. The students at the white collar level, particularly the boys, consulted the guidance director considerably more frequently than did other students. On the average the seniors at the white collar level saw the counselor nearly six times during the senior year while at the skilled and farm levels the students conferred about four times. The adolescents with semi-skilled parents used counselor's services only one and a half times on the average during the school year. The greater use of the guidance director as the socio-economic status went up may be a reflection of the greater interest in college by students at the upper positions as well as more interest in planning for a vocation.

TABLE 66

MEAN TIMES CONFERRED WITH GUIDANCE DIRECTOR

Occupation of father	Mean number of conferences
White collar	5.90
Girls	5.08
Boys	7.00
Skilled	3.95
Girls	4.20
Boys	3.50
Farmers	3.68
Girls	2.80
Boys	4.30
Semi-skilled	1.46
Girls	1.40
Boys	1.50

The figures do not include two boys at the white collar level, one at the skilled, and one at the semi-skilled level. Not included are one girl at the white collar level and three at the semi-skilled level, none of whom consulted with the counselor. The chief reason for not including students was that they moved to Trenton for the senior year or for a part of the year. In three instances, the data were not given in the information received.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND ASPIRATIONS

Descriptions of selected seniors and their parents at different socio-economic levels will be given to illustrate the social matrix in which aspirations arise. General family and school backgrounds at various status positions may give understanding of the desires, hopes, and plans of young people. Accounts of the youth and their social surroundings at different occupational levels will be representative of the situations and relationships of the young people as they developed their ideas and set goals for the future.

From a casual inspection Trenton did not seem to be sharply segregated residentially. However, the lowest residential area would likely be recognized as the "Old Fairgrounds" where housing was poor. The Brainard school district generally was the home of the workingmen although some were located in other areas. There were some better homes in this area along Princeton Road. The upper middle and upper groups were likely to live to the west in the general direction of the country club. Country Club Place and an adjoining new housing subdivision, Town and Country, contained more expensive homes.

Boys at the White Collar Level. Examples of students and their backgrounds will begin with the white collar and move to the semiskilled. At the top business and professional positions the parents generally had college education and expected as a matter of course that their children would attend college.

Living on the west side in a two story house was Percy,[16] whose father had college and professional training. His paternal grandfather had been a farmer, but his father decided to enter the profession of an uncle and did so by working to secure the necessary education. Percy's maternal grandfather had been an engineer on the railroad. His mother taught school for ten years before her marriage.

Percy liked school. He was interested in intellectual matters and made high grades although his test intelligence was not the highest in the class. He was voted by his classmates to be "Most Studious Boy" and was president of several school organizations. He had taken part in athletics in junior high school but not in senior high school. Participation at this level was more in social affairs such as dances and other school activities. Extra money was earned when a senior by working in a store.

His sister went to college but married before obtaining a degree. As Percy approached his senior year there was no question about whether to continue his education. His parents had the money to send him to college and expected him to go. He liked school and definitely planned to enroll in an institution of higher learning.

His choice of occupation had fairly well been determined. Since his father was in a profession, there might have been some compulsion that he follow in his father's and uncle's footsteps. The father would have been pleased for the son to take up the father's occupation, but he was leaving the choice to his son. Both parents said that they had not indicated to the son what occupation he should enter. The father said that he would not object to some jobs but would advise against them. Percy was fascinated with automobiles—how they operated and what made them go and how to improve them. He was not interested in being a mechanic but in becoming an automotive engineer. He attended several universities and received an engineering degree in August, 1960; the degree was not automotive but in another field. He was employed by a large corporation after graduation from college.

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[16] All names are fictitious. Some accounts are a composite.

At the clerical level there tended to be the aspiration by parents and children for college but not the strong assurance of obtaining a degree. One of the parents may have a year or so of college. The father may have a year of business college. Most of these boys attended college for a year or two before dropping out; a few completed requirements for a degree.

Sneed's father and mother graduated from high school with the father attending the nearby business college for one year. He worked in a variety store, drove a delivery truck, clerked in a grocery store before entering the post office. Both of his grandfathers worked for the railroad—one worked in the shops and the other was an engineer. Both parents were interested in the school progress of their children and attended the high school P.T.A. meetings. Both father and mother said that they would encourage the son to go to college, but there was the feeling that the matter should be left somewhat to the boy.

Sneed's older brother attended the local junior college but married and dropped out of school. He obtained a job as a brakeman on the railroad.

Sneed liked school fairly well, sang in the glee club, and was in the middle range of the class scholastically. Being a good football player, he particularly enjoyed sports. The young man wanted to go to college fairly strongly and believed that his father had probably influenced him the most to want to go beyond high school. His best friend's planning to attend college may also have encouraged him. His brother was doing well with some college education. A choice of occupation was not definitely fixed, although he had given a little consideration to being a veterinarian since he liked animals. However, he was uncertain about his future vocation but did not want to follow his father's work, nor did his parents want him to do so. His opinion was that he was better fitted to work with his hands than to be in white collar employment.

Sneed attended the local junior college one year and the university one year. In 1959 he entered the air corps, where he was sent to a mechanics school and was taught to "work on" engines. His engagement to a local girl was announced in 1960 with the wedding to take place in August.

Son of Skilled Worker. At the skilled level none of the parents were likely to have been to college. Many had a high school education, but some went only through grade school. The mothers generally had graduated from high school. Although there were a few good students at this level most of the boys did not distinguish themselves in making grades. None of the boys received a college degree after four years out of high school although a little over half of them had some college courses. Three boys who went into military service completed their tour of duty but did not enter college.

Barker's father worked for the railroad as a skilled craftsman. The father graduated from the eighth grade and the mother from high school, and they lived in the north part of town. The parents did not take part in the Parents and Teachers Association but did attend some of the athletic contests. The father had been, at different times, a restaurant worker, extra brakeman, and farmer, and he had also worked in the bottling plant and hatchery before becoming an electrician in 1942. Both parents thought Barker should do what he wanted after finishing high school but would encourage him to attend college if he wished. Barker's older brother by a year was an apprentice in the railroad rebuilding shop but was thinking that he may begin college work.

Barker had a moderately high test intelligence, made about average grades, and liked school fairly well. Considerable thought had been given to obtaining higher education. His father had been a great influence on his educational aspiration since his father regretted failure to go beyond the eighth grade.

Barker wanted to become a teacher but was not sure what he would be doing ten years later. No one particular person had induced him to become a teacher although a cousin was teaching school. Having heard someone say that teachers were needed he decided to become one.

Barker attended the local junior college two years and worked in a drug store to help pay expenses. While still in college he married a young woman who worked in the telephone office. He moved to a nearby large city and obtained a position operating business machines. It is possible that he will continue in the university in the city where he resides, but the probability becomes less each year that he is out of school, especially since he has additional responsibilities.

Farm Boys. The farm families varied in financial position, education, and attitudes. Parents in some families attended college while others had only an eighth grade education. The farm youth in a number of families were encouraged to continue on into college; the parents of other farm boys and girls were indifferent or even hostile toward higher education.

Among the farm boys were a few who were interested in intellectual pursuits and went on to college; most did not go beyond the high school. Three boys with intentions of going to college aspired to the professions—ministry, engineering, and veterinary medicine. One youth obtained a Bachelor of Science in Agriculture and returned to the farm.

Calvin's mother lived in town, graduated from high school, and worked as a clerk or bookkeeper before her marriage. His father, who had completed the eighth grade, operated road machinery, serviced cars in a filling station, and worked as a welder during the War before renting a farm in 1946. Both parents thought Calvin should go to college after high school and encouraged him in his ambition to be a veterinarian. The younger son in the family did not go to college after graduation from high school.

Calvin participated in many school activities including sports, intellectual pursuits, and student club activities. Not only was he a member of numerous student organizations but was an officer in most of them. He was in the student council, Latin Club, Junior Classical League, T-Club, Future Farmers of America, and was on the staff of the school paper. Earning high grades and ranking toward the top of the class, he was in the National Honor Society.

Being successful in high school, Calvin seemed confident of going to college. His "folks," especially his mother, had influenced him to want to further his education. He had earned some money through his farm projects to help pay his way, and also a scholarship for part of his college tuition was awarded him.

Calvin said that he considered taking up veterinary medicine by the ninth grade since he made a notebook on this subject in one of his classes. He liked to "be around" animals, and he helped the veterinarian when the latter came to the farm to treat livestock. He noted that the veterinarian lived in a large house and drove a nice car.

Calvin enrolled at the university and continued there each year after graduation from high school. His name appeared on the Dean's Honor Roll, and scholarships and other scholastic honors were awarded to him. Apparently he began with the intention of entering veterinarian medicine but later transferred to the medical school.

Rudy's parents had an eighth grade education. His father had farmed all his life although at times had additional employment off the farm. Both parents stated that Rudy could do what he wanted after high school; they thought he would go to college, but they would not encourage college attendance unless that is what he wanted to do. Rudy stated that his father did not believe in education beyond the high school although he was changing his mind to some extent. It was an interesting situation in that all but one of the children had some college education, and one obtained a college degree. None of the children remained on the farm.

Rudy participated in a number of school activities including chorus and student council. He became active in church work, and perhaps these contacts influenced him toward college. After attending the local junior college, he went to a college in a nearby city but did not obtain a degree in four years. He is engaged in the ministry and expects to complete work for his bachelor's and perhaps another degree.

For the most part the boys preferring to farm did not want to go to college. Ben is an example of these boys. His mother had nearly a high school education, and his father went through the eighth grade. Ben's father climbed the agricultural ladder by working for someone else on a farm for a period of time before finally buying a place for himself.

The parents would leave Ben's education and occupation up to him. If he wanted to do something besides farm, college might help. If he were going to farm, college would not be necessary. Ben had three sisters, one who was a high school graduate and two younger sisters who were in school.

Ben preferred to be doing something else than attend school; he did not plan to further his education. Even if all his expenses were paid he did not desire to enter college. His test intelligence was about average; his grades tended to be below average. He took part in Future Farmers Association and Diversified Occupations Club. From an early age he wanted and expected to farm. Having helped his father farm he simply followed in the pattern which had been set before him. He was still farming several years after being out of high school, and was married and had a son.

Boys in the Semi-Skilled Category. At the semi-skilled level the parents were likely to have a grade school education or less. The parents were inclined to be permissive with regard to education and occupation. Lack of financial resources was an obstacle to sending the children to college. The sons were likely to be in the lower one-half of the class scholastically and did not particularly enjoy attending school. There were few plans for further education or for entering an occupation.

Both of Shedd's parents had grade school education, and both his grandfathers had been farmers. His father worked on a farm, but in 1920 he married and rented a farm on which he lived until 1937. For several years he was employed at different jobs, including two years on the W.P.A. Since 1943 he had been working in a milk processing plant, and at the time of the interview was a roll operator. His mother had worked ten years as a cook, but was not employed at the time of the interview because of illness.

Both parents believed that Shedd should do what he desired after he left high school. The father said that it would be "left up to him," and the mother said, "It's his privilege to choose." Both parents agreed that a person had to have a high school education today. Shedd's father said that it was all right to go to college but "the financing is the thing" to consider.

Both parents were willing to leave Shedd's occupation up to him. The state patrol would be all right if he could get into it. The mother said that he wanted to do one thing one day and something else the next. His father wanted him to consider "railroading" and the occupation of electrician. "Those are two things that will always be." Neither parent wanted Shedd to follow the father's occupation. The father said, "He can get something that will be easier and draw more money." The mother said, "It's too rough."

Shedd's test intelligence was below the average, and his scholastic standing was below the middle of the class. His school activities were centered on sports; he "lettered" in football, basketball, and track. He was in the T-Club, the organization of boys who participated in sports enough to earn a letter.

School was "all right," but Shedd preferred to be doing something else, such as working. He did not plan to go to college, but if his way were paid to college he might go just to see if he liked it.

Shedd wished to be on the state patrol. He asserted that he had been considering this position for a long time, and he had talked with a local patrolman about it. This choice might have been fantasy since he never made application to try to obtain employment with the patrol. The father of one of his friends was a railway engineer, and Shedd hoped that his friend's father would be able to help him to secure a position. Eventually, Shedd was successful in obtaining a job as fireman on the railroad and was still employed there at the completion of the study. Shedd obtained a marriage license in February, 1960 and married a local girl.

Bixby's mother had about three years of schooling while his father completed seven years. His mother worked outside the home several days a week doing housework. She had worked at Swift's five or six years "picking" chickens. His father worked at various jobs; he had been employed as a farm hand twenty years and then worked seven years on the township roads. He was presently working as a farm hand on a dairy farm. The family lived in a house provided by the owner of the farm at the edge of Trenton.

Both parents would leave Bixby's further education and occupation for his decision. His mother hoped that he would go to college a while but did not expect him to. Neither parent had any idea what occupation he might enter, but neither wanted him to follow in his father's footsteps. The mother stated there were not enough wages in farming, and the father said, "Would like him to get a little better job if he could. That is why I am getting him through high school."

Bixby's test intelligence was average, but his scholastic standing was below average. His school activities were limited; he was in Future Farmers of America and the Diversified Occupations Club. The Future Farmers of America was for the boys who took agriculture and the Diversified Occupations Club was for the students who worked half a day and went to school half a day. He said that his job was learning carpentry, but he was enrolled in the course primarily to earn money for school. He did not plan to follow this kind of work. He did not take part in sports because of physical ailments.

Bixby wanted and expected to secure a job after graduation from high school. He said that he had given some thought to entering college but could not go because he did not have the money. He felt that a person today should have some college even though he was not planning to go himself. A few of his relatives had suggested college, but there had not been much pressure on him to continue his education.

Bixby's occupational aspiration was to be a policeman although it was not very firm. As far as is known an application for a job as policeman was never made although he stated in 1959 that he was still interested in this vocation. He joined the Vigilantes, a volunteer police organization in Trenton. After high school he worked as a waiter for two years, then went to a nearby city and worked in the pet department of a chain drug store. In 1959 he was back in Trenton working as a clerk. He married one of his classmates. She sometimes worked as a waitress.

Examples have been presented of senior boys from different socio-economic levels. The boy at the professional level whose background was described had high aspirations, and family resources were adequate to provide college education. He completed college in four years and obtained employment with a large corporation in a professional capacity. His position is on a level comparable with his father.

At the clerical level, the youth had no very high education or occupational aspirations; he was somewhat interested in college but was undecided about occupation. His family resources were probably not adequate to send him to college without some work on his part. The parents would encourage him to go to college if he wanted to go. He attended college for a while but dropped out and entered the air corps. There is nothing to indicate any great mobility above his father's position.

At the skilled level, the illustration was given of a boy who attended college although almost half the boys in this category never entered college. His parents were permissive toward college but would encourage him if he wanted to go. Family resources apparently were not sufficient to send him through without employment on his part. The boy seemed to be interested in college, and his aspiration was to be a teacher although without much understanding of his aspiration. His grades were good but not at the top level. He was married while attending junior college, and it is problematical whether he will continue his education. He has more formal education than his parents, and his status is as high as his father's, probably a little higher.

The farm families present a varied assortment with different backgrounds and attitudes. Examples were given of two boys who aspired to attend college and actually attended, and one young man who did not aspire to college and did not attend. One boy with high ability was very successful in high school. He had high aspiration and the ability to progress toward his goals. His parents encouraged him in his aspirations. He completed four years of college and at present is well on his way to entering a profession. His younger brother was not so successful in high school and did not attend college. It would be of interest to know why one son went to college and the other boy did not attend.

The other college-bound farm youth was the youngest child in his family with most of the other children having some college training. This boy was fairly successful in high school. He became interested in the ministry while still in secondary school. His church contacts and ambition to enter church work apparently influenced him to continue his education.

The farm boy who did not go to college was not particularly interested in school and had no aspiration to further his education. His parents were permissive with regard to college education and occupation; he would decide what he wanted to do. He desired to become a farmer from an early age, and actually became a farmer.

At the semi-skilled level, two illustrations were presented: one father was a factory worker, and the other was a farm laborer. The parents in both instances were permissive toward education and occupation. The parents apparently did not have the resources to send the boys to college without some effort on the sons' part. The boys did not rank high scholastically, nor did they aspire to college or have high occupational aspirations. Both had more formal education than the parents had received. One boy entered a skilled occupation and had an income and status above that of his father. The other boy was employed in a sales position which might be rated higher in prestige than his father's position.

Representative cases of families at different socio-economic levels indicated that a number of factors influence educational and occupational aspirations. Children of white collar fathers tend to go to college as a matter of course. Plans were made and carried out.

Children below the white collar level will attend college if parents insist, if they have the necessary ability and are successful in high school, and if they have acquired a desire for a college education.

LOSS OF TALENT

One problem facing the modern world is to have available trained, competent personnel to fill responsible positions in society. College trained engineers, scientists, teachers, and other professional people are necessary to operate a complex, industrial society. In recent years interest has been aroused over the apparent loss of talent —many persons with apparent high ability have not gone to college. It is difficult to determine the extent to which there has been loss of talent. First, there is the problem of definition. What is meant by "loss of talent." As far as the individual is concerned, the matter is not just a question of ability, but attitudes, values, desires, and aspirations are involved. Is it "better" to go to college or not to go to college? Is it "better" to remain in one's social status or to rise to a higher status? There will be no attempt to answer these questions. Replies might be given in relation to what seems to be the dominant values of American culture. However, subgroups and individuals might not be in agreement.

From the standpoint of society, loss of talent means that persons who are apparently capable of doing college work do not prepare themselves for important positions which the society needs. Persons might not go to college because of lack of ability, lack of aspiration, or for other reasons.

There is general agreement that precise measures of intellectual ability have not been devised. Intelligence tests are not perfect measures of ability but are supposed to give rough evaluations of students' capabilities as they may be influenced by numerous factors and conditions. In addition to general "intelligence" different factors influence the making of grades—values, attitudes, and aspirations. The willingness of a person to devote himself to study and his determination to achieve are important factors. The analysis to follow immediately is concerned with the relationship between test intelligence and college attendance among this group of seniors. To what extent was there a loss of talent in terms of persons who had above-average test intelligence and did not go to college? Ninety-four intelligence quotient scores of the 1956 senior class were available. The scores ranged from 82 to 122, and the mean was 104.4. The mean score for girls was 104.8 and for the boys 104.0. Table 67 gives the mean Intelligence Quotients by socio-economic level. The youth in the white collar category had the highest mean test scores followed by the children of farmers, skilled, and semi-skilled workers. The girls had higher mean scores than the boys at the white collar and farm levels, with the boys being higher in the semi-skilled classification and about even at the skilled level.

TABLE 67

MEAN INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS BY OCCUPATION OF FATHER

Occupation of father	Mean I.Q.
White collar	
Girls	108.3
Boys	105.1
Skilled	
Girls	103.0
Boys	103.7
Farmers	
Girls	107.4
Boys	104.4
Semi-skilled	
Girls	97.4
Boys	101.5
1956 senior class	104.4
Girls	104.8
Boys	104.0

There is probably no point or particular score on an intelligence scale at which it can be said that those above can do college work and those below can not accomplish work at this educational level. On a number of intelligence ratings 100 is taken as the "average" or "normal." In a study of 323 colleges it was reported that the median intelligence quotient of all freshmen was 109.[17] A person with a test score of 110 was reported as having a "50-50 chance" of graduating from college.[18] It can be pointed out that most of the 1956 senior boys who obtained college degrees after four years out of high school did not have scores as high as 110.

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[17] Henry P. Smith, *Psychology in Teaching* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1954), p. 287.

Table 68 presents a breakdown of college attendance by socio-economic level and by intelligence quotient categories of those over 109 and those under 110. There was a rather wide range of test scores above and below 110 except that the sample included only one student in the semi-skilled classification who had a score over 109.

Analysis of intelligence quotients and college attendance will be made by sex. As the socio-economic status rose there was an increase in the percentage of boys with scores under 110 who attended college. About two-thirds of the males at the white collar level had test scores below 110 and attended college. The sons of white collar workers had the largest proportion and the semi-skilled had the smallest percentage over 109 and enrolled in college.

TABLE 68

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1956 SENIORS COLLEGE ATTENDANCE BY INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT CATEGORIES

Occupation of father	Attended college		Did not attend college		Number
	I.Q. under 110	I.Q. 110 & above	I.Q. under 110	I.Q. 110 & above	
White collar	37	46	8	8	24
Girls	15	62	15	8	13
Boys	64	27	0	9	11
Skilled	41	14	36	9	22
Girls	42	8	33	17	12
Boys	40	20	40	0	10
Farmers	21	14	44	21	34
Girls	20	13	47	20	15
Boys	21	16	42	21	19
Semi-skilled	0	0	94	6	17
Girls	0	0	90	10	10
Boys	0	0	100	0	7

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[18] Lee J. Cronbach, *Essentials of Psychological Testing* (New York, 1960), p. 174.

One boy in the white collar category, four farm boys, and no sons of skilled and semi-skilled workers had intelligence quotients above 109 and failed to enroll in college. Stated in another way, no boys in the lowest status category had a test score above 109 and none went to college; at the white collar and farmer levels a few boys with scores of 110 or above did not receive higher education.

Nearly two-thirds of the girls in the white collar category had intelligence quotients of 110 and above and matriculated in college while at the other levels relatively small proportions of the girls had scores above 109 and attended college. The highest percentage of young ladies with intelligence quotients under 110 who attended college was at the skilled level.

There were some girls with scores over 109 at every level who did not go beyond high school. The largest percentage of these were the daughters of farmers with the lowest percentage at the white collar level.

Among this group of seniors the intelligence quotient was not the sole or deciding factor in college attendance. Occupation of father apparently played an important part. Regardless of test score all but one boy at the white collar level attended college for a time with four obtaining degrees at the end of four years. At the skilled level some boys having less than an intelligence quotient of 110 advanced as far in college as those having a score above 109. Four farm boys having intelligence quotients of 110 or above did not attend college. Among the girls with scores above 109 and who did not go beyond high school were three farm girls, two daughters of skilled workers, and one at the white collar and semi-skilled levels.

If loss of talent is interpreted as meaning that students who have high test scores fail to go to college, then it can be stated that the greatest loss of talent among the Trenton seniors of 1956 occurred at the farm level. The largest proportion of students who had test intelligence scores above 109 but who did not enroll in institutions of higher learning was among the farm youth. There may have been some loss of talent at most status levels in that some students with intelligence quotients well above average enrolled in college but did not complete work for a degree.

1956 SENIORS' ACHIEVEMENTS

It was possible to observe and maintain contact with the Trenton 1956 seniors for several years after graduation although a few individuals moved away, and information is lacking about them. Articles about college attendance, marriage, births, and other activities were clipped from the local paper. Information in some instances was obtained from friends and relatives. The record of transcripts issued from the Trenton High School principal's office was checked in the summer of 1959.

What bearing do aspirations to attend college have on later behavior? To what extent did the seniors of Trenton High School matriculate in college? Forty-five per cent of this group were enrolled in higher educational institutions at some time after receiving their high school diplomas. Table 69 gives the college attendance record of the 1956 seniors. There are clearly discernible differences in the enrollment in college and progress through college according to the occupational level of the seniors' fathers. Differences in educational attainment by occupational classification were significant beyond

TABLE 69

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 1956 SENIORS WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE BY JUNE, 1960

Occupation of father	College degree 1960	Attend college	Did not attend college	Number
White collar	38	46	16	24
Girls	38	38	23	13
Boys	36	55	9	11
Skilled	0	55	45	22
Girls	0	50	50	12
Boys	0	60	40	10
Farmers	8	26	66	35
Girls	6	27	67	15
Boys	10	25	65	20
Semi-skilled	0	0	100	17
Girls	0	0	100	10
Boys	0	0	100	7

df - 6; X^2 - 43.721 and is significant beyond the 1 per cent level.

the 1 per cent level. The value of chi square was extremely high. There was very little likelihood that the differences by status category could be accounted for by chance variation. Particularly noticeable was the achievement of a college degree or its equivalent within four years. More than one-third of the young people at the white collar level obtained a degree within this period, while only two other persons in all the other categories were granted a degree or its equivalent. Some youth at other levels began college and dropped out, and a few delayed entrance to college. It is likely that more persons will receive college degrees in later years.

Very few seniors other than in the white collar category earned college degrees. One boy, the son of a farmer, obtained a degree in agriculture, and one girl, whose father was classified as a farmer, became a registered nurse. Another farm boy, an honor student, made satisfactory progress, but since he was enrolled for a professional degree (veterinarian, later medical doctor) he did not receive a degree at the end of four years. A girl whose father was in the farmer category may have completed her requirements for a registered nurse but the information was not available. No child of parents classified in the skilled and semi-skilled categories obtained a college degree by four years after graduation from high school.

Almost all students who were children of parents at the white collar level attended college for a time while no child of a semi-skilled or unskilled worker continued beyond the high school. One-half of the seniors at the skilled level and about one-third of the farmers' children attended college for a time. Some of these students may eventually earn a degree, being delayed for one reason or another. Many of the subjects, however, have finished their formal education without having received the degree.

All children at the semi-skilled level, two-thirds of the farmers' children, and nearly a half of the seniors at the skilled level never entered college. It does not seem likely that many of these students will ever enroll in higher educational institutions. A number of them are married and have children; some have begun to be established on jobs, in some of which seniority is important. The odds are against many or all of these persons ever enrolling in and completing college.

It should be pointed out that some children of unskilled workers do attend college; none in this sample did. However, a brother of one girl at this level had a college degree. It would appear that few children at the lower level attend college.

The data in Table 70 indicate that aspirations of adolescents bear some relationship to the educational achievement they are likely to attain. A comparison of the seniors' educational aspirations in 1956 with their accomplishments by 1960 reveals a very close approximation. In fact, the percentages of those students wanting to attend college in 1956 and actually enrolling in college are almost identical at all occupational levels except at the semi-skilled. Three of the children of semi-skilled fathers wanted training beyond the high school—one wanted business college and one desired nurse's training—but none went beyond the high school.

TABLE 70

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIORS' ASPIRATIONS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS: EDUCATION

Occupation of father	Aspiration for college	Attending college within four years	Number
White collar	83	83	24
Girls	84	77	13
Boys	82	91	11
Skilled	55	55	22
Girls	50	50	12
Boys	60	60	10
Farmers	37	34	35
Girls	40	33	15
Boys	35	35	20
Semi-skilled	18	0	17
Girls	30	0	10
Boys	0	0	7

The means to further schooling, the financial resources of a family, also constitute a factor. However, most of the seniors of 1956 could have advanced their education by attending Trenton Junior College. Expenses were $100 tuition for the year plus books, and some scholarships were available. For farm children, transportation would have been involved. If they had possessed a burning desire to attend college, it would not have been difficult financially for many of them to have acquired at least two years of college credit. It was not finances so much as it was the lack of will to attend college which kept them out.

Table 71 reflects the general rising levels of education. It should be pointed out, however, that since only high school seniors were subjects of the study the figures represent a select group. It is evident that children (and fathers) at the upper socio-economic levels secured more higher education than did those at lower levels.

TABLE 71

COMPARISON OF FATHERS' AND SONS' MEAN YEARS OF EDUCATION BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL

Occupation of father	Father	Son	Mean increase
White collar	12.2	14.4	2.2
Skilled	9.3	13	3.7
Farmer	8.8	13	4.2
Semi-skilled	8.4	12	3.6

In almost every instance at every level, the son equalled or exceeded his father's education. There were two exceptions at the white collar, one at the farmer, and one at the skilled levels. In one instance at the white collar level, the father having had more than four years of college, the son could not have had time to equal his father's educational attainment.

It can be noticed that the increase in mean years of education is greater at the levels below white collar. In other words, the gap between the occupational levels is greater for the fathers than for the sons. There is less difference in mean years of education among the sons than among the fathers. It is still possible for some of the sons to enter college or to add to their education.

The seniors on graduating from high school, if not enrolled in college, entered into work situations. Since most of the girls were married, chief attention will be given to the males. Some analysis will be made of the occupations of the girls' husbands, but information is not complete with regard to their vocations.

Table 72 indicates the occupations of the 1956 seniors four years after graduation from high school. The differences by socioeconomic classification were not significant at the 5 per cent level.

Nearly half of the male subjects in the white collar category were students or recently graduated from college and, of course, will most likely enter white collar occupations. Three were in military service; two of these attended college for a short time. One senior became assistant manager of his father's business; one worked on the railroad as a brakeman and took some class work in the local college; one was working in a box factory preparing boxes for shipment. At the skilled level only two boys were students, and one was in military service. Three boys were in white collar occupations: manager in training in a variety store; operator of business machines; and clerk in grocery store. One boy had been helping his father as a mechanic and had worked as a timekeeper or bookkeeper. Another boy was released from service and began work in a rocket factory in California, apparently at skilled or semi-skilled work.

TABLE 72

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIOR BOYS BY OCCUPATION OF FATHER IN 1956 AND OWN OCCUPATION IN 1960

Occupation of father	College student	White collar	Skilled	Farmer	Semi-skilled	Military Service	Number
White collar	45	9	9	0	9	28	11
Skilled	20	30	20	0	20	10	10
Farmers	30	5	25	20	10	10	20
Semi-skilled	0	14	71	0	0	14	7

df - 6; X^2 - 7.05 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level. In computing chi square combined "College student" and "White collar" into one category and "Skilled," "Farmer," and "Semi-skilled" into another category.

Six farm boys were in college; one of these with a large corporation had a program of work and study which would lead to an engineer's degree. Two boys were in service; five boys were engaged in skilled occupations while four were farming. Two were employed in semi-skilled work, and one 1956 senior was a minister.

Of the boys at the semi-skilled level none were students, four were in skilled occupations, two were in military service, and one clerked in a liquor store. Three boys were firemen on the railroad, and one worked for an earth moving and ditching contractor.

In comparing the occupational aspirations of the 1956 seniors with their achievements in 1960, it can be seen that in general there was not a great discrepancy. Table 73 presents information concerning aspirations and achievements. At the white collar level, while only one person was employed in white collar work, 45 per cent were college students who would likely enter professional and business occupations. The one boy listed at the semi-skilled level was said to be occupied at "preparing boxes for shipping"; perhaps this was as much clerical as labor. It is of interest to note that of the boys who responded "Don't know" with regard to occupation in 1956, two graduated from college in 1960 with degrees in business, one was assistant manager of his father's business, and one was in the armed forces after having been in college for several years. Even though some sons at the white collar level did not know what specific vocation they wanted to enter, they prepared for white collar occupations and not for manual labor.

At the skilled level three boys were in white collar work; one was manager in training in a variety store; one was an operator of business machines; and one had been a clerk and delivery boy in a grocery store. Two boys who were in college would presumably enter higher occupations. One boy, recently released from service, was in skilled work. One was an attendant in a service station and one had worked at different jobs—labor and attendant in filling station.

Only 5 per cent of farm sons were engaged in white collar work (a minister), but 30 per cent were college students who would likely enter higher occupations. One of the latter was doing engineering work while also attending college. It is pertinent to notice that while 50 per cent of the farm sons wanted to enter farming, only 20 per cent were engaged in farming. During recent years conditions have not been favorable to entering the occupation. Today, high capital investment is needed for a farm owner and for a farm tenant, as well.

While no boy at the semi-skilled level had aspired to a white collar job, one boy was engaged in a lower level white collar position. Nearly three-fourths of the boys aspired to skilled work and nearly three-fourths of the boys were actually doing skilled work—three were firemen on the railroad, one repaired scales, and one worked for an earthmoving contractor. One boy was in military serv-

TABLE 73

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SENIOR BOYS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS IN 1956 AND THEIR OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS BY 1960

Occupation of father	White collar 1956 Want	White collar 1960 Achieve	Skilled 1956 Want	Skilled 1960 Achieve	Semi-skilled 1956 Want	Semi-skilled 1960 Achieve	Don't know 1956 Want	Don't know 1960 Achieve	Student 1960 Achieve	Military Service 1960 Achieve	Total
White collar	45	9	9	9	0	9	45	0	45	27	11
Skilled	50	30	30	20	0	20	20	0	20	10	10
Farmers*	25	5	15	25	0	10	10	0	30	10	20
Semi-skilled	0	14	71	71	29	0	0	0	0	14	7

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* Fifty per cent of the farm boys aspired to be farmers in 1956 and 20 per cent were farmers in 1960. No boy in categories other than farming became a farmer.

ice. Two boys had aspired to be truck drivers. One boy did drive a truck for a while after graduation from high school, but an older friend was able to secure a position for him as fireman on the railroad. The boy had expressed no desire to be a fireman, but when the opportunity came along to obtain a higher paying job, he took it. The other boy who aspired to truck driving secured work with an earth moving contractor.

In an effort to measure intergenerational occupational mobility, North-Hatt prestige scale scores were assigned to the fathers' and sons' occupations.[19] In a few instances in which scores were not given in the North-Hatt list, scores were assigned closely approximating similar occupations which were listed. Table 74 presents the mean difference North-Hatt scores for fathers and sons. The occupational prestige scores of fathers and sons are given in Appendix B. Several limitations in the application of the scores can be pointed out. No scores could be assigned to the seniors in the armed service and those in college. Particularly important were the college students who would be more likely to enter higher prestige occupations and would thus greatly influence the scores. Also, young persons usually enter the labor force at a particular point, and progress up the ladder as they mature. It is most probable that many sons will have different positions by the time they reach the age of the fathers at the time of the study.

TABLE 74

MEANS AND MEAN DIFFERENCES NORTH-HATT PRESTIGE SCORES OF FATHERS IN 1956 AND SONS IN 1960

Occupation of father	Mean fathers score 1956	Mean sons score 1960	Mean difference	Number
White collar	75.5	75	– .5	4
Skilled	68.4	60.7	–7.7	7
Farmers	73.3	67.1	–6.2	12
Semi-skilled	56.3	63	+6.7	6

With scores for only four out of eleven sons at the white collar level, there is a mean loss by the sons of .5 in prestige scores. At the skilled level there are data for seven out of ten boys with a mean loss of 7.7 points. With scores available for twelve out of the twenty farm boys, there is a mean loss of 6.2. Information is available for six of the seven sons at the semi-skilled level with all six registering small prestige gains. The average increment was 6.7.

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[19] "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, 9 (September, 1947), pp. 3-13.

With few sons at the white collar level established in occupations it is difficult to make any statement concerning them. However, one might speculate that white collar sons, in general, will enter positions at approximately the same level as those of their fathers, since so many of them have some college education and a number have college degrees.

With a smaller proportion of sons at the skilled level with college education and none with degrees, these boys have begun their work experience at levels below that of their fathers. There is some possibility of limited upward mobility. Two boys are still attending college and could earn degrees, but the others without college education will have less chance for mobility to higher occupations.

About one-fifth of the farm boys were still in college with some possibility of gaining a college degree and entering higher prestige positions. The explanation for the mean decline in prestige score was the tendency for sons of farm owners and tenants to move into semi-skilled and skilled jobs.

Except for the boy in military service, all the young men at the semi-skilled level have entered into work careers. Each of these boys has a slightly higher prestige score than his father. The strongest tendency was to move from the semi-skilled classification of their fathers into skilled jobs. Three sons entered into the relatively well paying position of fireman on the railroad. These boys undoubtedly are earning more money per day than their fathers are. However, seniority is a determining factor in this occupation, and if volume of business declines, the worker with the least seniority is laid off first. As their seniority builds up, these boys will likely receive more income than many other subjects of the study.

Four years after graduation from high school, two-thirds of the 1956 seniors were married. Table 75 gives the proportions of the subjects who were married or engaged by June, 1960. Calculation of chi square indicated that the differences by status level were not significant at the 5 per cent level. Large percentages of the seniors at every occupational level had entered into matrimony. The students in the skilled and semi-skilled categories were married in larger percentages than those at the other two levels. The girls in the white collar classification and the farm boys tended to marry later than the young people at the other levels. Girls were married in larger proportions than were the boys indicating that girls marry at a younger age than do boys. None of the five girls who obtained a college degree was married. Three of these girls were engaged during the senior year (1960) and marriages were planned for the summer.

TABLE 75

PROPORTION OF 1956 SENIORS MARRIED OR ENGAGED BY JUNE, 1960

Occupation of father	Married	Not married	Engaged	Number
White collar	58	25	17	24
Girls	46	31	23	13
Boys	73	18	9	11
Skilled	77	18	5	22
Girls	83	8	8	12
Boys	70	30	0	10
Farmers	60	28	11	35
Girls	80	13	7	15
Boys	45	40	15	20
Semi-skilled	76	24	0	17
Girls	80	20	0	10
Boys	71	29	0	7

df - 6; X^2 - 5.44 and is not significant at the 5 per cent level.

It is more feasible for males attending college to marry than for females, since the wife of the college student may be able to secure employment and help the husband through school. Two boys at the white collar level and one farm boy were married prior to graduation from college. Two boys at the white collar level and three at the skilled attended college after being married.

There was only one instance in which classmates married. A daughter of a white collar worker married the son of a dairy worker. Since a considerable number of students went outside the home community for a marriage partner the information was not available as to the occupation of the mate's father.

Information concerning the occupation of the girls' husbands was not complete since some girls married persons from other communities and moved from Trenton. Table 76 contains data that were available concerning the employment of the husbands of the 1956 senior girls. Although a considerable portion of young women married young men in the same occupational classification as the girls' fathers, a spread of vocational categories was represented in the husbands' employment. The greatest concentration of occupational endogamous marriages was the marriage of daughters of semi-skilled workers who married boys engaged in semi-skilled work.

At the white collar level six girls were married, and information of the husbands' occupations was available in five cases. Just one of these girls attended college, and she remained only one year. One husband was employed as a clerk in a liquor store. Two were in skilled work—lineman for the telephone company and mechanic in his father's garage. One boy worked in a bowling alley, and one operated a bread-wrapping machine in the bakery.

TABLE 76

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF 1956 SENIOR GIRLS' HUSBANDS

Occupation of girls' fathers	White collar	Skilled	Farmer	Semi-skilled	Mil. serv.	No. Married	Don't Know	Number
White collar	15	15	0	8	0	54	8	13
Skilled*	25	25	0	8	17	17	0	12
Farmers	20	27	0	33	0	20	0	15
Semi-skilled	10	10	10	40	0	20	10	10

* One husband was a student (8 per cent).

At the skilled level three girls had husbands engaged in white collar work; three husbands were in skilled jobs; two in the armed forces; and one drove a truck to pick up milk. The farm girls tended to marry boys who were employed in semi-skilled and skilled jobs. None of the farm girls was married to boys engaged in farming. One boy doing semi-skilled work later planned to raise hogs. One husband was a radio announcer, and two were in sales work. The fact that none of the husbands of farm girls was farming signifies the great social changes of the past fifty years. The movement away from farming has been very pronounced. Some of the husbands' fathers may have been farmers, but information is not available on this.

At the semi-skilled level the largest proportion of husbands were in semi-skilled work—truck drivers, factory worker, and garbage collector. One husband was a clerk in an office, and one was a farmer.

The largest proportion of daughters of white collar workers was not married. The females in the skilled category married boys in the skilled and white collar occupations in the same proportion. Farm girls married boys engaged in semi-skilled, skilled, and white collar positions. The largest percentage of girls at the semi-skilled level married boys in semi-skilled jobs.

Four years after graduation from Trenton High School the seniors of the 1956 class had begun to fulfill some of their aspirations. There was a relationship between socio-economic position and continuation of students education beyond the high school. As the status level rose there was an increase in the percentage of young people aspiring to and attending college. Particularly important was the attainment of a college degree. The students who were awarded degrees were principally in the white collar category; a few farm youth completed four years of college.

Occupational placements were not yet clearly discernible since a considerable proportion of the boys were in higher educational institutions or in military service. Also, the youth were just beginning their work careers, and there might be opportunity for advancement in the future. Most sons of white collar workers will apparently be engaged in white collar employment. A few of these boys were starting their work experience at a slightly lower level. A portion of the boys at the skilled and farmer levels were engaged in white collar employment or were students who would presumably enter white collar jobs. Most sons of semi-skilled fathers were working at skilled positions.

Although there was some variation the senior girls tended to marry boys at about the same occupational level in which they themselves had originated.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is now proposed to summarize the findings and draw general theoretical and practical conclusions. The study was undertaken to investigate the level of aspirations and the relationship of aspirations to socio-economic status. From the general principles of stratification and social mobility specific hypotheses were selected for testing. Subjects for the study were high school seniors and some of their parents in a small midwestern community.

Limitations to the investigation should be pointed out. The small number of subjects involved raise the question of representativeness of the sample. Only young persons about to graduate from high school were involved. Drop-outs previous to the senior year were not considered. The ninety-eight seniors of the year 1955-56 and their parents were intensively interviewed. Four years later the seniors of the 1960 class filled out a questionnaire. The subjects of the study represented a homogeneous group—racially and religiously. There were no sons and daughters of what would be considered the "elite" of the national American society, and relatively few were on the very lowest socio-economic level. However, there was a rather broad range of occupational, economic and prestige groups represented.

The setting of the study was a small community located in a relatively prosperous agricultural section of the Midwest. It was typical of many in this area of the United States and yet had some unique features. The city was smaller than Middletown, larger than Plainville, and about the same size as Elmtown.

With the small number of persons in the sample and the sample confined to a local area, it would not be safe to generalize to all sections of the United States and to American society in general without further research. In a way the investigation is a case study.

Only one item was used in stratifying the subjects—occupation. A multiple item index using income, education, and other variables might have produced better results. Rather crude occupational categories were set up because of the small numbers involved. If a larger sample had been used, sharper classifications could have been developed at different levels. More distinct classification of the white collar and farmer categories would have been particularly useful.

Data were gathered bearing on the propositions or hypotheses and presented in the preceding pages. The hypotheses will be discussed individually and then their bearing on general theory and practical problems will be presented.

> Proposition 1. Parents at higher socio-economic levels will take a greater interest in the school progress of their children than parents on lower levels.

The data tended to confirm Proposition 1 in that the parents at higher levels took greater interest in Parents-Teachers Association and school activities. The data with regard to grades were not so clear cut and definite. Differences generally were not great. There seemed to be greater discussion of grades, more rewards for good grades, greater criticism and more punishment for low grades at the skilled level. However, higher grades, more school offices, and honors generally went to those at the higher levels.

> Proposition 2. Parents in higher socio-economic categories will be more positive in encouraging their children to attend college than parents in lower social categories.

Proposition 2 tended to be confirmed by the data. The proportions of parents and seniors who recommended college training increased as the socio-economic status rose. The responses of parents and seniors indicated greater encouragement to enter higher educational institutions as the socio-economic status increased and greater permissiveness with regard to attending college as the socio-economic status declined.

> Proposition 3. Parents at higher status levels will expect their children to enter higher status occupations.

Proposition 3 tended to be confirmed in that parents in the white collar category expected in larger proportions than those at other levels that their offspring would be engaged in white collar vocations. However, the parents at the upper level were just as permissive as those in other status positions with regard to the specific occupations which they wanted their children to undertake. Parents at all levels were not inclined to choose an occupation and try to force their offspring to enter it.

Several other observations of parental attitudes toward occupations can be made. The proportion of the fathers satisfied with their jobs increased as the occupational level went up. With regard to the desire of parents for their children to follow in the fathers' footsteps, there was no clear pattern although the parents at the white collar level had the largest proportion wanting their children to follow the fathers' occupations. Apparently there was the desire for the son to "do something better," but there was not generally expressed any wish that the son rise into elite positions in the United States. The level of aspirations of parents was fairly low and realistic in terms of opportunities.

Proposition 4. The proportion of high school seniors aspiring to attend college increases as the socio-economic status of their parents goes up.

Proposition 4 appeared to be supported by the data. As the socio-economic level went up there was an increase in the proportion who liked school and who wanted and expected to continue their education. Students at the lowest occupational level did not like school very much and did not desire and expect to attend college in large numbers.

At all levels below the white collar there was a sizable increase in the proportions who would attend college if all expenses were paid. Apparently most students at all levels verbally recognized the general importance attached to college. However, when faced with an obstacle of earning about half the expenses for their further education a larger proportion of seniors in the lower occupational classifications would not enter a higher educational institution. Apparently the aspiration to attend college was not so strong as the socio-economic level declined. This judgment was confirmed when the students were asked how strongly they felt about going to college; there was less strength in the interest in formal schooling in the lower status categories. The students at the semi-skilled level realized that they would have to earn most of their expenses if they went to college, and they also had other reasons for not desiring to continue their education.

The dominant reason advanced for aspiring to go to college was to obtain a better job. The person or persons acknowledged by the students to have exerted the most influence on them to want to go to college were the parents. The seniors at the white collar level had the highest proportion specifying both parents and indicated that the father had the greater influence as opposed to the mother. The students at the other levels reported that the mother had the greater influence.

Proposition 5. The proportion of students aspiring to higher occupations increases with higher socio-economic status of parents.

The data tended to support Proposition 5 in that there was an increase in the percentage of students desiring white collar occupations as the socio-economic status of parents rose. At the top level all the boys except one selecting an occupation desired white collar work; the others were uncertain as to their prospective occupation. The sons of the white collar workers tended to prefer the professions. Apparently most of the boys at the highest level who were uncertain as to their occupation were considering white collar occupations since most of them wanted to attend college.

It can be noticed that a large proportion of boys in each socio-economic category aspired to a higher level than their fathers'. Even though they did not aspire to the top positions, they did desire to be above the status of their fathers. The largest percentage of boys wanting to follow the parental occupation was at the farmer level. Except for the farmers' sons, very few young men (even those desiring the same level as the fathers') did not wish to inherit the fathers' particular occupation, and the parents in general did not want or expect the sons to follow in the parental vocation. In the white collar category, even though the parents in some instances would have been pleased for the son to continue in the father's footsteps, there was little or no direct pressure applied to this end. There seemed to be relatively little belief that children should or must follow in the occupation of their fathers. However, there was a feeling that the youth should remain at least at the same general level as the father.

What was the dominating factor influencing the level of the boys' occupational aspiration? Except for the farm boys, very few fathers were in the occupation which the boys wanted to enter. In fact, excluding farmers' sons, 50 per cent or more of the males had no relatives in the vocations they desired. Apparently parents did not overtly exert great pressure on the senior boys toward an occupation since most boys did not report that their parents had influenced them most toward an occupation, nor did the parents in general assert that they tried to induce the children to take up particular fields of work. Approximately one-third of the boys reported that "no one" had influenced them "the most" to go into a vocation.

There seemed to be no dominant influence on the selection of an occupation.

What seemed to be occurring, then, was that covert and subtle factors were operating on the students' lives. They grew up in a family and a society and took on the values of the groups in which they lived; they were not conscious of any one dominating their choices of occupations. Many of them accepted the superiority of white collar work and other evaluations of occupations. They tended to gravitate toward the vocations which had greater prestige and income than their fathers'.

Proposition 6. Students in lower socio-economic groups will be more undecided as to their educational and occupational aspirations than those in higher socio-economic groups.

In some ways the data were conflicting with regard to the uncertainty of educational aspirations. There was not much variation in the proportion of seniors at each socio-economic level who were undecided about entering college. The highest percentage was at the farmer level. However, the youth in the semi-skilled category seemed to hold their views less strongly than did those at the other levels; they were more subject to change. In discussing plans for further education the children at the semi-skilled level signified for the most part they were interested in securing a job after high school graduation, but if their ways were paid most of them stated that they would start college. In the general discussion also the impression was gained that they held their views less strongly and were more subject to change than those in upper categories.

With regard to occupational aspirations, the data were also somewhat conflicting. The seniors at the white collar level had the largest proportion who reported that they did not know what occupations they wanted to enter. However, it is quite probable that many of these boys were undecided about their specific future vocation but expected to be in white collar occupations since most of them planned to attend college.

The sons of semi-skilled workers did not hold their opinions about occupations as strongly as did the students at other levels. They had a slightly greater increase in the proportions not knowing what occupations they expected to be in ten years later. When asked how strongly they felt about going into the vocations they had chosen, the boys at this level had the highest proportion stating "fairly strongly" rather than "very strongly."

Proposition 7. The difference between aspirations and expectations is greater in the lower socio-economic levels.

Proposition 7 tended to be supported by the data with regard to education. The seniors at the semi-skilled level had a greater change in the percentage wanting and expecting to go to college. However, the differences were not great. It seems significant that there were so few changes between the aspirations and the expectations. These young people had grown up after World War II when times were generally prosperous. Jobs in towns were plentiful although prosperity on the farms was beginning to lessen. High school students were employed in large numbers on part time work during the school year and on regular jobs during the summer vacation. That most of the seniors faced the future with confidence was, perhaps, a reflection of the widespread prosperity and optimism of the times.

With regard to occupation the analysis will be concerned only with the males. The females may want a job temporarily but expect to be married in a few years. The evidence is not entirely clear that at the lower level there was a greater difference between aspirations and expectations. In fact, the greatest percentage change between occupational aspirations and expectation was by the boys at the white collar level who aspired to enter white collar vocations. There was a sizeable decrease among the sons of semi-skilled workers in the percentage expecting to enter skilled work. The boys at the semi-skilled category did not aim as high but expected to enter the jobs they had selected in about the same proportions as other students. However, there was a tendency for the sons of semi-skilled workers not to hold their views strongly, and they were more subject to change than the boys at the upper levels.

Proposition 8. Students at higher status levels will receive higher grades and participate more in school activities than students at lower status levels.

Proposition 8 tended to be confirmed in that seniors at higher socio-economic levels received higher grades, and students at the lower socio-economic levels received lower grades. Even though some students at the highest status level were in the lowest quartile in test intelligence no senior in this category received grades in the lowest quartile. In other words, youth at upper status levels received higher grades in relation to their intelligence quotients, and the sons and daughters of semi-skilled workers were given lower marks in school in relation to their intelligence test scores. With regard to participation in school activities, the seniors at the white collar level on the average took part in more activities than those at any other level. There was a decrease in mean number of activities participated in as the socio-economic status declined.

Perhaps, the youth at upper status levels had higher achievement motives. These young people apparently had internalized "middle class" values toward education. It was desirable to make high grades, to participate in school activities, and to come up to the expectations of parents. The youth in the lowest socio-economic category were not so interested in school. Academic courses were not important; they would not help earn a living. High grades had little meaning since the sons and daughters of semi-skilled workers had no plans for enrolling in college, and there were few other incentives for making higher grades. There was also little interest in most school activities because of lack of money and not being socially acceptable.

Proposition 9. The proportion of high school seniors who attend college increases as the socio-economic status goes up.

The data tended to confirm Proposition 9. A larger proportion of seniors at the white collar level attended college than those at any other level. None of the 1956 seniors in the semi-skilled category entered higher educational institutions. Furthermore, the seniors at the white collar level after four years obtained college degrees in larger proportions than those at any other level. There was a smaller proportion of seniors at the highest level dropping out of college before obtaining a degree.

Ideal or constructed type societies can be delineated with the caste society at one pole of a continuum and the open class at the other extreme. Under the caste system the principle of inherited inequality is followed. Positions are fixed by birth, and change in status is impossible. The family is of paramount influence. Sons follow the occupations of the father. Aspirations should be confined to one's own level. It is not just the view of the family that a son follow in his father's footsteps, but other institutions support the rigidity of the system. The religious institution may give justification for a person to be satisfied with his place in life. The norms of society specify that the behavior of persons at different levels be in harmony with their positions. Higher rewards go to the persons in the higher positions, and it is right and proper that this be the case. The closest approximation to the caste system was probably the Hindu social order of India.

In the midwestern community where this study was made the stratification system was semi-closed to the extent that there were differential opportunities for advancement at each level. The family did influence the placement of the children. Not all students had equal access to the channels of mobility—particularly education. Some families did not have the economic resources to send their children to college. Although the economic background of the family was important in plans for education, it was not always the determining factor since some children from families of modest means attended college and worked part of their way. Some seniors whose parents could have paid for a large part of their higher education did not enter college. The aspirations of the seniors were important in determining their willingness to enroll in college and work for social mobility. Students at higher levels had higher aspirations as measured on an absolute scale.

In the "ideal" open-class type society, all positions would be filled by competition, and the ablest would occupy the highest places and receive the greatest awards. Family would play no part in the placement of the children who might have aspirations to any position. The norms of the society would specify equal opportunity to all and advancement to the most competent. The social institutions would harmonize and re-enforce the stratification system.

The social system under study was "open" in that persons could aspire to higher positions and reach them to some extent. There was some mobility at all levels with movement being largely step-by-step rather than by large jumps. Children of minor white collar workers tended to move into higher white collar occupations. Some farm boys moved into skilled and white collar positions. Several sons of farmers were well on the way into professional occupations. Most boys at the semi-skilled level filled skilled positions.

It appeared that the upper levels were tending to be filled in larger proportions by sons of the upper level people, but there was some upward mobility at all levels. The intergenerational moves tended to be to the next higher level. While the seniors at the lower levels did not aspire to the top positions they did have ambitions to the next higher occupations; the volume of mobility was as much as that at other levels.

The greatest barrier in mobility seems to involve the movement from blue collar to white collar positions. Several boys at the skilled and farmer levels passed over this hurdle, and several others who were still in college had an excellent chance of moving into the middle or upper white collar positions.

This study was not designed to determine whether the stratification system was moving toward a more open or more closed society. The data did reveal that there were advancements in education and intergenerational movement in the occupational hierarchy. No great rigidity in social structure was seen. There was geographical and social mobility. Some young people at all levels progressed above their fathers' positions. Although there were movements of considerable social distance, most changes were not great. Sufficient time had not elapsed to make a definitive study of intergenerational mobility among these high school seniors.

What were the effects of changes in the social structure under study? Since the time period involved in the investigation was short and the sample studied was small, only a few conclusions can be stated. The trend from farming to other occupations was noticeable. Most farm boys did not follow agriculture as a means of earning a livelihood but moved into other work. Farm girls tended to move away from the farm. Although no detailed analysis was made of geographical mobility, movement of these youth from the local area was evident. The least migration was among the boys in the semiskilled category who, for the most part, remained in the community and took up skilled work. Movement of youth at the other levels out of the area was great. Most students acquiring college degrees did not return to the home community to find jobs but resided in other localities. However, other persons with college education came into the community as teachers, engineers, and lawyers. It might be surmised that there was greater net movement of higher educated people out of the area since the demand for college trained persons in a rural community was not great.

In recent years the United States has been faced with growing educational problems. With the post World War II increase in birth rates and the resulting surge in numbers entering school, concern has been voiced over the problem of providing facilities and teachers for these young persons. As a greater number of students progressed through the elementary and high schools, more consideration has also been given to the difficulties of providing adequate education at the college and university level.

Various published reports revealed that increased proportions of young people were continuing their education beyond the high school. With higher birth rates and more persons attending college, the capacity of institutions of higher learning to educate properly all those who might desire to enter became a matter of grave concern. Associations of colleges and universities, private foundations, city and state agencies along with the federal government have investigated the problem.[20]

Other difficulties concerned with the quality of education and loss of talent emerged. How could the United States obtain top scientists, engineers, and teachers who were required for a modern, complex society? Even though increased numbers of young people pursued courses of study in colleges and universities, it was known that numerous persons with high scholastic abilities were not continuing their education after graduating from high school. According to one report, more than one-half of the ablest young people do not enter college.[21] In the urbanized area of Kansas City, the proportion of the 1956 high school graduates with college ability who went to college in the year following graduation was 59 per cent.[22]

The findings contain implications for guidance counselors and others who advise students. Guidance has tended to be on a voluntary basis. As indicated by this study the young people at the lower socio-economic levels do not seek the guidance director and request information as much as the persons at higher levels. In order to avoid loss of talent some means must be found to identify the superior stu-

20. *Teachers for Tomorrow,* The Fund for the Advancement of Education, (New York, 1955); *Higher Education in Kansas City with Particular Reference to the University of Kansas City* with the assistance of Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City, Missouri, 1957; *Education Beyond the High School, Needs and Resources,* President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, (Washington, 1957); Byron S. Hollinshead, *Who Should Go to College?* (New York, 1952), published for the Commission on Financing Higher Education under sponsorship of the Association of American Universities.

21. *Teachers for Tomorrow,* The Fund for the Advancement of Education, Bulletin No. 2 (New York, 1955), p. 35.

22. Warren Peterson, *College Education for Kansas City Youth, The Present and the Future* (Kansas City, Community Studies, Inc., 1957), Table I.

dents and more particularly those at the lower economic levels and inform them of their possibilities and opportunities. The identification of the talented individuals should be done as early as possible—probably in the elementary grades.

To attain these societal goals the students should be made aware of their potentialities and means should be provided so that all could develop to the utmost of their abilities. Increased numbers of scholarships could be provided to encourage qualified young people to prepare for the highly valued and necessary positions in the society. Individuals would more nearly be able to develop their capabilities, and our society would benefit by having the services of properly trained personnel. All would have a chance to fill important positions in the society according to their abilities and not according to birth. Power would not likely become concentrated in the hands of an hereditary aristocracy.

High social mobility has generally been regarded as desirable in American society. However, little is known about the relationship between rates of mobility and the stability of national social structures. Information is not conclusive on whether political institutions are more or less stable with high rates of social mobility. It is not clear what the relationships are between actual rates of mobility and the beliefs about equal and unequal opportunities for advancement.

Some data are available on the probable "costs" of mobility to individuals and groups. Various unanticipated consequences from vertical movements in status hierarchies may occur. Probable costs of mobility include increased frustration and rootlessness among many persons; there may be more personality problems and other undesirable results.[23] Additional empirical research is needed in order that knowledge become available on social mobility and its consequences on social structures and individuals.

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[23] Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 260-287.

APPENDIX A

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL—GIRLS

Occupation of father	Alladin Club	Girls Glee Club	Tumbling Club	Pep Squad	Girls Athletic Assoc.	H'makers of Amer.	Number
White collar	31	77	15	92	85	46	13
Skilled	42	58	25	83	67	42	12
Farmer	7	53	0	53	67	53	15
Semi-skilled	0	30	0	20	60	40	10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL—BOYS

Occupation of father	Basketball	Football	Track	Boys Glee Club	T Club	Future Farmers of Amer.	Number
White collar	36	45	36	27	36	0	11
Skilled	40	50	50	20	20	0	10
Farmers	10	40	35	15	25	80	20
Semi-skilled	29	43	29	0	29	43	7

APPENDIX A

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL

Occupation of father	Distributive Occupation Club	Mixed Chorus	Senior Play	Band	Speech	Dramatics	Number
White collar	25	50	29	38	8	29	24
Girls	8	69	31	54	8	38	13
Boys	45	27	27	18	9	18	11
Skilled	41	27	23	27	14	18	22
Girls	33	50	25	42	17	8	12
Boys	50	10	20	10	10	30	10
Farmers	26	29	9	6	9	3	35
Girls	13	47	7	7	7	0	15
Boys	35	15	10	5	20	5	20
Semi-skilled	24	12	12	0	29	18	17
Girls	10	20	20	0	30	30	10
Boys	43	0	0	0	29	0	7

APPENDIX A

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVITIES PARTICIPATED IN BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL

Occupation of father	Junior Classical League	Latin Club	School Paper	Annual	Honor Society	Student Council	Number
White collar	50	25	21	0	25	13	24
Girls	46	15	38	0	38	8	13
Boys	55	36	0	0	9	18	11
Skilled	27	9	18	23	18	23	22
Girls	33	17	25	25	33	33	12
Boys	20	0	10	20	0	10	10
Farmers	29	9	11	3	26	17	35
Girls	33	7	0	0	40	20	15
Boys	25	10	20	5	15	15	20
Semi-skilled	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Boys	0	0	0	0	0	0	7

APPENDIX B

NORTH-HATT OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE SCORES[*]

Occupation of father	Father's Prestige Score	Occupation of son	Son's Prestige Score
WHITE COLLAR			
Physician	93	Student—engineer	84
Manager	75	Student—Bus. degree	
Owns Business	75	Ass't in fathers business	75
Insurance agent	68	Worker in box factory	63
Bookkeeper	68	Student	
Mail Carrier	66	Military Service	
Clerk	58	Military Serv.—after College	
Conductor—ret.	67	Military Serv.—Bus. College	
Mail Carrier	66	Forestry degree	78
Mail Clerk	66	Military Serv.—some college	
Mail Clerk	66	Student and fireman	
SKILLED			
Brakeman	60	Skilled in factory	67
Section foreman	60	Filling station, etc.	52
Engineer	77	Student and fireman	
Engineer—ret.	77	Manager in training	63
Engineer—ret.	77	Attendant—filling station	52
Welder, mechanic	62	Bookkeeper and helper	65
Electrician	73	I.B.M. operation	68
Carpenter	65	Student and brakeman	
Fireman	70	Grocery clerk	58
Radio and T.V.	62	Military service	
FARMERS[†]			
Own	76	Student and clerk	
Tenant—Twnsp. collector	68	Lineman	48
Own	76	Skilled—factory	67
Tenant & paper route	68	Student	
Own	76	Agricultural degree	
Own—Township road	76	Farm—P.O.—1 year	76

Occupation of father	Father's Prestige Score	Occupation of son	Son's Prestige Score
FARMERS[†] (Con't.)			
Own	76	Brakeman	58
Own	76	Jr. Engineer–student	
Own	76	Student–farm	
Tenant	68	Student–veterinarian	
Tenant	68	Military Service	
Own	76	Switchman–Eng.	76
Own	76	Farm	76
Own	76	Farm	76
Own	76	Fork Lift operator	60
Tenant	68	Service station attendant	52
Tenant	68	Farm–plans to change	68
Own–ASC	76	Minister	87
Tenant–School Bus Driver	66	Brakeman	58
Own	76	Military service	
SEMI-SKILLED			
Operative	60	Repair scales	62
Maintenance	60	Fireman	68
Operative	60	Fireman	68
Truck driver	54	Earth mover	58
Truck driver	54	Fireman	68
Farm Labor	50	Military Service	
Farm Labor	50	Clerk	54

[*] "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, 9 (September, 1947), pp. 4-5. When no North-Hatt score available, used Leonard Reissman, *Class in American Society* (Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1959), pp. 401-404 or interpolated one.

[†] Some farmers were engaged at other work in addition to farming, and this information is listed along with the interest the man had in the farm–owner or tenant.